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JOURNAL OF EVENTS

PRINCIPALLY ON THE

Detroit and Niagara Frontiers,

DURING THE

WAR OF 1812.

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BY CAPT. W. H. MERRITT,

OF THE PROV. LIGHT DRAGOONS.

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ST. CATHARINES, C. W.

PUBLISHED BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, B. N. A.  
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## P R E F A C E .

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The committee of the Historical Society of B. N. A. decided at their meeting of November 6, to again publish some of the documents in their possession.

From among a variety of papers of great historical interest, they have selected the following Military Journal of events in the war of 1812-13 and 14, which was kept by the late Hon. W. H. Merritt, M. L. C.—one of the original founders of this society.

In performing this duty the committee are aware that they have undertaken a grave responsibility, but at the same time they have endeavored to discharge it with fidelity

It may be remarked that, the journal, subsequent to the battle of Lundy's Lane, was written at a distance from the seat of action, and while Mr. Merritt was a prisoner of war, he had not the advantage of personal observation. The subject, however, was one which never lost its interest; and the incidents described by Mr. Merritt are given in accordance with the statements of persons direct from the scene of the several occurrences.





# INTRODUCTION.

NEWS OF WAR—CONCENTRATION ON FRONTIER, ETC.

We received intelligence of the declaration of war by the United States on Saturday, the 27th. of June, 1812, from a messenger sent by the late John Jacob Astor to Thomas Clark, Esq., of Niagara Falls. An express was immediately sent to the President, General Brock, who was at York, (now Toronto) the seat of Government. The news spread over the country like lightning, and produced an instantaneous alarm. We expected an immediate attack from the United States forces, who, we believed, had long been prepared for war.

The President, Brigadier General Brock, who is justly described as the saviour of Canada, was, of all men, the best adapted for command at this juncture. He perfectly understood human nature, and the peculiar disposition of the Militia. He was active, brave, vigilant, and determined. He had a peculiar faculty of attaching all parties and people to his person: in short, he infused the most unbounded confidence in all ranks and descriptions of men under his command. General Brock arrived at Fort George on the 28th. The Flank Volunteer companies and corps were assembled and marched to the line in the interim, with the greatest despatch. The 1st. 4th. and 5th. local Militia, and 2d. York, were at Queenston and Niagara, with the Artillery—the 2d. and 3d. local Militia at Chippewa and Fort Erie—the Dragoons detached to the different Posts. General Brock communicated with the U. States people (by a flag of truce,) who had not yet been officially informed of the declaration of war. Our batteries, which had been prepared with the greatest diligence, he intended, at two different times, to open against Fort Niagara; which would have been a most valuable and easy conquest, as it was totally defenceless, and a small garrison in it. He was advised, at present, to desist; shortly after received an order which confirmed it, from Sir George Prevost, the Commander in Chief, to act solely on the defensive, though much against his will and better judgment. This was conceived, by the Commander in Chief, to be a party war. He was fearful offensive operations would unite the enemy, without

which they would be unable to carry on the war. Experience has fully proved the fallacy of those ideas.

#### NUMBER AND POSITION OF FORCES ON THE NIAGARA AND DETROIT FRONTIERS.

It will be necessary here to take a summary view of the situation of this country, number of troops, and means of defence. Heretofore, we had merely the name of being taxed, consequently, there was very little money in the treasury; to remedy which, a few moneyed men formed themselves into a committee under the sanction of Government, called the British Niagara Association, and issued paper money for prompt payment of the troops, and for other purposes. The number of regular troops in the upper country consisted of part of the 49th. and 61st. regiments, and a few artilleryists, in all, less than one thousand men, which garrisoned York, Ft. George, Chippewa, Fort Erie, Amherstburgh, Sandwich, and St. Josephs, covering an extent of nearly fifteen hundred miles. The Militia of the country were in tolerable order, one-third of each regiment was formed into two flank companies, who volunteered their services; of course, they were composed of the most active and zealous young men in the country. There were likewise a company of Militia Artillery, R. A. Drivers, and a troop of Cavalry, in the Niagara District, in all, something short of a thousand men; which, with the Indians, were all the hopes of the country at this alarming crisis. The most sanguine friends expected to see us overwhelmed by the enemy in a very short time, and this idea was industriously infused by every lukewarm individual, and it was our misfortune to have a few of them, although perhaps not more than any other country. The loyalists exerted themselves with a vigor and zeal that will ever be gratefully remembered; the happy effects of which, together with the wise administration of our Commander, were soon perceived. There appeared a perfect unity of all parties: the only feeling was a fixed determination of defending the country to the last extremity.

Brigadier General Brock made a most judicious choice of his staff. Capt. Glegg, of the 49th. regiment, was his military, and Lieut. Col. Nichol and McDonald were his Provincial Aid-de-Camps; William Clausd, Esq. was appointed Colonel of Militia; Major Thomas Merritt of Militia Dragoons, of which there were to have been a squadron in the Niagara District, a part of Capt. Burton's troop at York was to act under his command—only one troop, however, was allowed, owing to the jealousy of the Commanders of Militia regiments, who were losing their best men,



and other causes. Capt. Swazey raised a troop of Drivers, and procured a hundred horses for Government at fifteen pence per diem. He deserves the greatest credit for his indefatigable exertions. Mr. Wilcox, overawed by the vigilance of the President, made him a tender of his press and services—Marakle and many of his adherents followed his example, which was declined, at the same time they were given to understand that silence was the only means of saving them a journey to Quebec.

From this period to the 21st. of July nothing material occurred on the Frontier. The flank companies and all corps took a pride in doing their duty, which was very severe, as we were in momentary expectation of an attack. Patrols were kept up with little intermission along the whole line from Fort George to Fort Erie. Those off duty, were on fatigue, notwithstanding which they improved rapidly in their discipline. Batteries were erected on every eligible position on the lines. The greatest possible exertions were making for a vigorous resistance, under the eye of our Commander, who was continually on the move, visiting every post.

## CHAPTER I.

### HOSTILITIES COMMENCED AT AMHERSTBURGH—INDIANS MUSTERED.

An express was despatched to Col. St. George, Inspecting Field Officer of Militia, who commanded at Amherstburgh, (this was afterwards styled the right division,) and to Capt. Roberts, commanding at St. Josephs, with orders to commence offensive operations. Shortly after the declaration of war, Capt. Rochelle boarded and took possession of a United States schooner, with thirty soldiers and a quantity of baggage on board, near Amherstburgh, with only five men in his boat. The States people were completely driven into a surrender, thinking themselves within range of the Fort. This event, by giving information of the enemy's design, was of the greatest importance. Capt. Muir of the 41st. was preparing to cross the river and endeavor by every means in his power to retard the progress of the enemy, who were within ten day's march, with an army, magnified by report to eight thousand men. This is a most clear and unquestionable proof of the designs of the United States Government. The army above mentioned, raised three months before war was declared, was under the eye and command of Major General Hull, Governor of

the Michigan Territory. These were to have been at Detroit by the time their plans were matured, and on the first intimation of war, to march over and take possession of Amherstburgh, and that before we possibly could have been prepared to receive them, pushed through the country to Burlington Heights or Fort George, and thus accomplish their own measures. Happily their tardy movements frustrated these designs, and turned their mighty preparations to their greater discomfiture; as counter orders arrived to act only on the defensive, and protect our own frontier, before the St. George detachment left. The order was, fortunately, not extended to Capt. Roberts; who, shortly after, or about the time Gen. Hull invaded Canada, took possession of Michillimackinac, without the loss of a man. This acquisition, with the noble motives by which Tecumseh was actuated, secured us the friendship of all the western Indians.

About the beginning of July, the celebrated and magnanimous Chief Tecumseh, arrived at Amherstburgh, with about one hundred and fifty Indians of the Shawnee Tribe; and by his singular tact and address, soon gained over the Wyandotts, which, with some others arriving, made a force of between five and six hundred. Self preservation is alone a sufficient plea for our having recourse to the assistance of those warriors. The weaker and invaded party is perfectly justifiable in resorting to every means in their power for defence. The natives had commenced hostilities against the whites some time since, and certainly every candid and unbiassed person must say they had sufficient reasons for so doing, by the settlers unwarrantable encroachments on their lands and property. Every friend of humanity must deprecate the savage mode of warfare: to alleviate and restrain which, as much as possible, a grand council of war was held at Amherstburgh, where their Chiefs solemnly promised to abolish the shocking practice of scalping, likewise to save all prisoners that should fall into their possession.

Part of the Grenadier and battalion companies being sent up, the regular forces of the right division numbered three hundred men. Nearly all the Militia were out, many of whom were deficient in arms, not more than three hundred were in the Fort, the remainder had retired to their homes. Capt. Muir, a most active and enterprising officer, was stationed at Sandwich, with a company of the 41st., and a detachment of Militia, with which force he wished to make a defence, and if beaten, retire to Amherstburgh. He received an order from Col. St. George to retire on the first approach of the enemy, by which means General Hull and his army of twenty-five hundred men were allowed to land on our soil, without a solitary shot to celebrate the event. The first act

of this General was to issue a proclamation, calling upon the people to throw off their allegiance, threatening all those found fighting by the side of a native with extermination. To carry his threats into execution, he said he had four thousand men, which were only the vanguard of a much greater force. With the cowardly and disaffected it had some weight, but only stimulated the brave and loyal inhabitants to a more determined resistance. On the enemies landing, on the 11th. of July, our advance posts were withdrawn to the river Canard, within three miles of Amherstburgh, by which means the enemy had a communication open with the whole western district. The Fort could only communicate by water, or through a wilderness, to Long Point or Fort George. Col. St. George was severely censured by the country for retiring without a shot before the enemy. He likewise lost the confidence of his detachment by his irresolute conduct. Many skirmishes took place at the Canard, in which we were always successful. In one, thirty Indians drove one hundred and fifty of the invaders several miles—during the contest an Indian was killed and scalped by a United States Captain, who showed it in camp as a matter of exultation—the same officer was killed and scalped at Brownstown shortly after, for the Indians brought in the body, called a Grand Council, and produced it, retracting all former promises, and denouncing vengeance against those enemies to whom the continuation of this horrid practice should be ascribed, as they certainly commenced it. Two sentinels of the 41st. in one of those skirmishes stood to their posts till one was killed, having received four wounds; the other taken, after receiving three. A plundering party of the enemy were sent to Beldoon, a settlement of Lord Selkirk's, brought away several hundred Merino sheep, and every article they could get hold of: they were likewise sent up the river Thames to Dolson's, and McGregor's mill, and carried away a quantity of flour, &c. Mr. Watson, a traitor, who had left this country, penetrated as far as Delaware Town, distributing proclamations and endeavoring to incite the inhabitants to insurrection.

LIGHT DRAGOONS SENT TO DETROIT IN ADVANCE OF THE GOVERNOR,  
GENERAL BROCK.

Hearing of Watson's conduct, on the 28th. of July, I was sent up with a small detachment of Dragoons to take him if possible, and establish a communication with Col. Proctor, who had a short time since superseded Col. St. George. We got intelligence of the party, but he made off half an hour before we arrived. Made



Allen and two more of his clan prisoners; had the mortification to find some people disaffected; returned with my prisoners to Fort George; met Capt. Chambers at Burford, with fifty of the 41st. on his way to Oxford, where our advance was to be kept. The enemy were expected on this route daily. General Brock was on his way to York at the time, I overtook him with a boat on the lake. Hearing of the very critical situation of the right, and knowing the importance of checking the enemy in time, he formed the resolution of attacking them in person, and driving them out of the country. I was sent back with twenty-eight men to join Chambers; I distributed proclamations to counteract the effects of Hull's, and ordered the Long Point Militia, under Col. Talbot, to join Capt. Chambers: the most of whom on their march refused to serve under him, from personal dislike, as they alleged, to the individual, and returned to Dover, the same place General Brock had ordered the boats and men from the frontier to rendezvous at. The York flank companies and Capt. Robertson's rifle corps marched from thence by land; likewise fifteen of Capt. Button's Dragoons to join me. I was purposing to go to Delaware with Major Chambers, on a scout, when he received intelligence of the Long Point Militia. We were immediately marched back to chastise those refractory gentlemen, and bring them to a sense of their duty. Most of the Oxford Militia volunteered on the occasion; on our arrival at Burford a report was industriously spread of a party of United States Dragoons being in the neighborhood. After a ride of nearly sixty miles, found there had not been a man in the District, although a fellow made an affidavit he had seen them. On the 8th. of August, Gen. Brock and Staff arrived at Dover, the different detachments arriving the same night from Fort Erie with the boats for the expedition. His first step was to send for the ringleader of the last meeting, and send him, Squire Beamer, to York; on the 9th. he reviewed the Militia, and addressed them in a very pathetic and encouraging manner, commenting on the evil of having any disaffected characters among us, on whom he threw the reproach of the late disturbance; praised them for their alacrity in coming forward so nobly at this crisis, said he placed the most unlimited confidence in their loyalty and courage, expressed his determination of proceeding to Amherstburgh and not returning till the enemy were driven from the country, and desired all those willing to follow him to volunteer their services. This short harangue had the desired effect, every man volunteered. Unfortunately the boats could not carry more than four hundred men; on hearing which, he told the officers to select three hundred and fifty of the best men, which, with the fifty regulars, would be more than he wanted. That force was marched down, embarked

the very same night, and arrived at Amherstburgh the 14th, Friday evening. This small force, with the General, gave new life to the worn out troops, who had shortly before been beaten at Maguagua; which, added to their excessive fatigue, served to depress their spirits. In the beginning of the month the Indians surprised and defeated a body of the enemy at Brown's Town, opposite Amherstburgh, and took an Express giving an account of their destination, saying they would be in Detroit the ensuing week. A detachment of regulars and Indians under Col. Muir, was defeated shortly after, by a superior force, with but little loss—the Indians behind bravely covering the retreat, and maintaining the unequal action for a length of time. Capt. Muir and Tecumseh were both wounded—our defeat was owing to Col. Muir changing his position on the eve of action—from being covered, our men were exposed in an open ground. The United States forces derived no advantage whatever from their victory.

THE GOVERNOR ARRIVES OPPOSITE DETROIT, MAKES HIS PREPARATIONS,  
AND TAKES THE PLACE.

On the arrival of General Brock the enemy evacuated Sandwich; on hearing it he assembled the Militia, and told them that the pusillanimous conduct of the enemy, who abandoned their posts at the name of a reinforcement, made him desirous of removing the miseries of war to their own shores, and take them before they had time to reflect. They were all eager to follow when and where he liked. The enemy retired with a great quantity of plunder. Private property was very little respected; even one or two houses were burned, which they said was necessary for the defence of their works. On Saturday he marched up to Sandwich; erected two batteries opposite Detroit; sent over a flag of truce demanding the surrender of the fort, magnifying our force; saying that motives of humanity, and to save the unnecessary effusion of blood alone induced us to make the demand, fearing the savages could not be restrained after taking forcible possession, &c. As was expected, Gen. Hull sent for answer that he would defend while an officer was left to draw a sword; on receiving which, to let him know our threats were not idle, the batteries, which were just finished, were opened on the fort and town. A warm and well directed fire was returned during the day, but little effect on either side was made. The boats and men arriving in the evening, orders were issued for embarking on the following morning at 5 o'clock.

In council of war that was called, only Nichol and McDonald

Provincial aid-de camps, approved of the attack. At 5 o'clock on Sunday, the 16th of August, the batteries were again opened; at the same time, the Indians, to the number of seven or eight hundred, under Col. Elliott and Tecumseh, landed at Spring Wells, two miles below Detroit, in a commanding position, entered the wood, and went in rear of the fort. Tecumseh extended his men, and marched them three times through an opening, in full view of the garrison, which induced them to believe there were at least two or three thousand Indians. The regulars and militia crossing shortly after, formed in open sections, and marched direct for the fort with the intention of gaining a ravine within two hundred yards of it, which would completely shelter them till prepared for the attack.

Although the enemy had two twenty-four pounders, double-charged, in a position that would rake the road every shot, our troops were allowed to march up, file off to the left, and cover themselves. A communication was immediately opened on our left with the Indians, by means of Capt. Robertson's Rifle Company, (and two or three prisoners taken,) by which means the place was completely invested on all sides, the men were waiting to recover breath for the assault which was to have been on all parts at the same instant, when a white flag was unexpectedly hoisted in the fort. Gen. Brock sent an aid-de camp to inquire the meaning of it; if to surrender, it must be done unconditionally and instantaneously, or the assault would be made in five minutes. The message having been so bold and decisive, the terms were agreed to, signed, and garrison taken possession of by our troops in thirty minutes.

Many causes combined to induce him to surrender so precipitately. First, he could not place the least confidence in his troops from their former conduct. His own officers sent to reconnoitre magnified our force to very great numbers, thinking them all regulars; although we had but three hundred and fifty regulars and four hundred and thirty militia, the vigorous measures of Gen. Brock led to a surrender.

The garrison was crowded with troops, which after our gaining the ravine, were of no manner of use in repelling the assault; would only be in each other's way and increase the carnage. To heighten the confusion, the women of the town, for safety, were allowed to enter the garrison. The savages were another powerful motive; had they succeeded, it would have been impossible to restrain them. Our general had got the range of the fort. Every shot, from their, being so much crowded, had effect. Where Hull showed unpardonable neglect, was allowing our troops to land and choose their position, when one-



half of his troops ought to have annihilated them. Three hundred men would have been sufficient to defend the garrison; the remaining two thousand and two hundred men were disposable.

As my detachment could not embark from Dover, it was sent by land to Delaware again to keep up the communication with the Western District. After an unnecessary delay at this place, were allowed to proceed on by Col. Tolbot, (under whose command I then was,) to Sandwich, where we arrived the day after the fall of Detroit, much chagrined at not being up in time.

It is easy to imagine the joyful and happy effects this unexpected conquest had on the minds of the people. To see this army that had so recently been the terror of the country, marching down, prisoners to so unequal a force. On the arrival of the vessels, the State's people at Buffalo ran down to the shores to welcome their arrival. They imagined it was Gen. Hull with the garrison of Amherstburgh. Nothing could exceed their despondency at seeing them landed on our shores, and being informed of the event. Their only consolation was in reviling their unfortunate general, whom they accused of *Bribery* and *Cowardice*. They had reason to censure him for the latter, but more for mismanagement.

Thus fell the whole territory of Michigan, twenty-five hundred men, and an immense quantity of stores, by the prompt and vigorous measures of Gen. Brock. His presence being no longer required, next day removed to Amherstburgh, and returned in a birch canoe immediately for the Niagara Frontier, which was threatened by Gen. Van Rensselaer. He embarked for Kingston and returned to Fort George without a moment's delay. The management of everything at Detroit was left to Col. Proctor.

Gen. Hull and the regulars were sent to Quebec; the militia and volunteers were parolled and sent home, which measure at the time was considered politic. Were those men sent to Quebec and detained till regularly exchanged, it would have been the means of deterring others from turning out. Many of those fellows were base enough to return before exchanged, in the ensuing campaign.

## CHAPTER II.

## MILITIA RETURN TO NIAGARA, FOLLOWED BY LIGHT DRAGOONS.

On the 20th. the militia returned to the Niagara Frontier, escorting the prisoners. My men were detained till the 7th of September, collecting stores, flour, &c., about the country. Arriving at Fort George on the 15th, we found the enemy had collected a large force at Lewiston, N. Y., and Black Rock. It was obvious from their movements they meditated an attack. It was impossible to ascertain the point, consequently we were obliged to extend our force along the whole line, which made the duty excessively severe; patrols moving continually from Niagara to Queenston, and from Chippewa, with little intermission, to Fort Erie. York Flank Companies were stationed at Field's Point. Two Flank companies 49th, and three companies of the 5th Lincoln and 2d York, at and near Queenston; the remainder at Fort George and above Chippewa. Batteries were thrown up at every mile or two from Fort George to Queenston, where a formidable one was erected half way up the mountain; at Scotts', left of Queenston and at Durham's.

At Chippewa our only fortification was an old irreparable block house. At Fort Erie, the works were just begun, and for the want of means were left unfinished; two or three batteries were erected opposite Black Rock on a rising ground. Part of the 49th regiment arrived while we were at Detroit, say three hundred and fifty men. Major Arnaud commanded at Fort Erie.

On the night of the 9th of October, the United States people succeeded in cutting out two of our schooners, the "Caledonia" and "Detroit," which had conveyed some prisoners from Detroit the preceeding day. A Capt. C., paymaster 4th regiment, and who was sent over on his parole, gave information of their defenceless state.

Col. McComb and Chapin, with three or four hundred men, surprised, and after a short resistance, took possession of them. The "Detroit" grounded on Squaw Island. The enemy abandoned her, but we could not possibly get her off. After Lieut. Dantford 49th having made an unsuccessful attempt, Cornet Pell, Major of Niagara Light Dragoons, made an attempt with seven or eight men; he gained the vessel, but the rapidity of the stream drove the boat to her stern, which exposed him to the fire of several hundred muskets within one hundred yards of

Squaw Island: he in the act of jumping in the cabin window was shot in the forehead. The boat moved off; nearly every man was wounded before they reached our shore. The Major received three wounds; the first proved fatal. This rash and fruitless attempt deprived the country of a gallant and promising young officer. Gen. Brock arrived just as the enemy had fired the schooner, gave the officers a severe reprimand for not keeping a better lookout, and returned. Capt. Rolett and Lieut. Kerr, Royal Newfoundland Regiment, were taken in the schooners.

This petty affair highly elated the enemy; and being the first advantage gained during the war, in a measure hastened and was the means of their discomfiture at Queenston; as Gen. Van Rensselaer says in his dispatch there was no restraining the men. From this till the 13th. small parties of the enemy were continually firing over the river at any person seen moving. A militia sentry was killed by this means on Queenston Heights a few days before. Capt. Dennis, 49th Grenadiers, commanded at Queenston; from the numbers on the opposite shore, he was confident of an attack. Beacons were raised on the line to communicate with Fort George in a few minutes. At 3 o'clock, A. M., on the 13th of October, the enemy launched a number of boats, and embarked at the old Ferry House. The sentinels gave the alarm without challenging, the guard opened a spirited fire, and was shortly supported by the grenadier company 49th, and part of two companies of militia, and Lieut. Ball, Militia Artillery, with two six pounders, who disputed their landing with the greatest obstinacy. The United States forces at this period deserve credit for their perseverance; although many of their men were slaughtered and one boat destroyed, they effected a landing on their left under cover of the bank, ascended a point of the mountain, and gained the summit unobserved, to the number of five hundred men. This post was guarded by Capt. Williams, 49th light company, and one of the militia, who seeing their comrades so warmly engaged below, ran down to their assistance without leaving a guard at this invaluable position. Owing to the confusion, the beacons were not lighted. A dragoon gave the alarm at Fort George. Gen. Brock galloped up to the scene of action followed by his aid-de camps; on his arrival the day began to break. Observing our shells falling short of the opposite shore, he rode up to the battery and ordered longer fuses. By this time Capt. Dennis had repulsed the enemy at all points below, killed a great number and made one hundred and fifty prisoners. All imagined the action was over, when the enemy were observed on the mountain within fifty yards of the battery. An order was given to retreat, our men



abandoned the battery, and escaped down the mountain. Gen. Brock was assembling the grenadiers with an intention of charging the enemy and retaking the battery, when a fatal shot pierced his breast; he articulated, "*Push on my boys!*" and immediately expired. Lieut. Col. McDonald, his provincial aid-de camp, and Capt. Williams, being joined by a few of the York Militia, gained the heights, although exposed to a galling cross-fire. At the same time a few militia men under Lieut. Robinson, attacked them on the Chippewa Road. The enemy thinking that Gen. Brock had rallied his forces, and was making a joint attack upon them, retired to the brow of the hill; and was on the point of leaving it, when observing some confusion among our men, occasioned by the loss of Lieut. Col. McDonald and Capt. Williams; (the former, after having his horse shot under him, was mortally wounded,) returned to the attack, and drove our small party back with loss. After the enemy gained the mountain, Capt. Dennis was under the necessity of leaving his post under the hill, which enabled the enemy to land without opposition. Our detachment withdrew after bringing the wounded to Durhams, where they collected the stragglers and awaited the reinforcements from Fort George and Niagara. They were soon joined by the detachment 41st and Flank companies of militia, who came double-quick march all the way.

For young soldiers, we had the most dismal prospects before us. The enemy were magnified to five thousand men, on a excellent position, and continually crossing the river without our being able to annoy them, the wounded meeting us from the field, Col. McDonald's stragglers coming in all mud and wet, very much fatigued; and lastly, the loss of Gen. Brock; he was said to be only wounded; too many were sensible of his death, which served to reduce them almost to despair. In him we lost a host. Such implicit confidence was placed in his skill, bravery, and good judgment by all under his command, that led by him they were certain of success. To revenge his death, and make a determined effort to dislodge the enemy was the general wish and voice, although many thought it hopeless.

#### ENGAGEMENT AND FINAL EXPULSION OF THE ENEMY.

Gen. Sheaffe arriving assumed the command. Capt. Holcroft, of the Artillery, with a six pounder, advanced to Scott's battery with a company of militia to cover him. Morton, with about seventy Indians advanced to the mountain, drove in their

flanking parties which were three times his number, and attacked their main body, which obliged him to retire a short distance with some loss. His advancing in this spirited manner was the means of preventing the enemy's sending out scouting parties, and enabled the main body of our troops to ascend the mountain unmolested. Gen. Sheaffe made an oblique movement to the right, gained the mountain in rear of the Indians, marched past Chisholms, and formed in Elijah Phelps' fields on Chippewa Road, where we awaited the arrival of Col. Clark with militia, and Capt. Bullock, with 41st, who had been ordered down from that post on the arrival of the former. The line was formed; Indians on left by side of the mountain; 41st Lt. Company left of the line; militia next; 49th in centre; militia again on the right; 49th Grenadiers led left Companies, the whole forming a regular line from the brow of the mountain to the Chippewa Road. Capt. Hall's company composed the reserve. Capt. Bullock being rather tardy in his operations, the line was ordered to advance a few minutes before he arrived. The States troops had possession of the wood, were likewise drawn up behind a fence, in all nearly a thousand men, greater part militia, with one field piece; to oppose which, we had nearly seven hundred men, mostly militia; likewise a bad position, having to march up and dislodge them from the wood and fence, without any cover, and suspecting them to have four times our force. To counterbalance those evils, our men were under better discipline; were fighting in defence of their lives and property: and to stimulate their courage, knew the issue of this action, though trifling, would decide the fate of the Upper Country.

Our first volley threw the enemy into confusion; we pressed on without further giving them time to recover, and dislodged them from the fence, where they made a vigorous but short resistance. At this moment Capt. Bullock arrived on our right, and opened a sharp fire on their left. The enemy broke in every direction, and ran down the mountain in the greatest possible confusion. Many in their panic threw themselves into the river in the hopes of reaching the opposite shore. Numbers in the attempt found a watery grave. The loss in this action to the United States forces was, according to Gen. Van Rensselaer's account, fifteen hundred men. Nine hundred and odd prisoners fell into our hands. The militia, as usual, were paroled and sent back to their families; the regulars to Quebec.

A cannonading was continued during the greater part of the day, between the two forts and batteries at Niagara with little effect. They burned the Court House early in the day. The activity of the inhabitants prevented the destruction of the town

Capt. Holcroft's conduct was conspicuous during the action; he advanced to Capt. Hamilton's stone fence with his company, and kept up a constant fire on their boats during the action, although exposed to the fire of the enemies' long guns from Fort Grey or Grey's Battery. Every person did his duty, and is equally entitled to credit, but I cannot forbear mentioning the exemplary conduct of Capt. Samuel Hatt. On the first assembling of the militia, he came forward in the subordinate situation of a Captain, although one of the first and richest men in the country, and showed a most laudable example to his countrymen by participating with them in the dangers, and sharing the fatigues of the campaign.

It would be impossible to describe the enthusiastic joy of our young soldiers at the moment of victory; to enter the action under an impression, if successful, of being killed or wounded, and in fifteen minutes to have all the enemy in our possession that were not killed, with the loss of only fifteen or sixteen of our comrades, was a most happy and agreeable disappointment.

In a few moments after this excess of joy was turned to the deepest and most sincere sorrow, in reflecting on the irreparable loss we had sustained in the person of our much lamented general. The victory was acknowledged to be far too dearly won; his remains were taken to Niagara, and on the 5th were interred in the Cavalier Bastion at Fort George, together with his aid-de camp Lieut. Col. McDonald, who expired the day after the action; the two coffins were taken from the Government House, at 11 o'clock A. M., and exhibited one of the most grand and solemn processions ever witnessed in Canada. The States troops, to their honor be it said, fired a salute on the occasion.

~~and~~ I wish here to pause and take a cursory view of the country on the demise of Gen. Brock. Through his indefatigable perseverance and judicious management our small means were exerted to their utmost. The militia of the country were harrassed as little as circumstances would permit. A deputy Commissary General arrived. Paper money was issued through a proper channel. By means of the lake, of which we had the entire command, we were enabled to transport our troops from the different posts with little expense and the greatest facility; and had not the insidious policy of acting on the defensive been adopted by the Commander-in-Chief, every military post on both lakes would have been destroyed long ere this.

The Michigan Territory was in our hands. A great number of the Western Indians had re-inforced Col. Proctor, who was secure from any attack at that time. The enemy had a very small force at Sackett's Harbor, and below Kingston. The only part



we were seriously menaced on was the Niagara Frontier, which the late action removed for some time. The Six Nations of Indians at the Grand River were very backward; in short, would not take a part until after the capture of Detroit. A few marched down after the place was taken with an intention of co-operating with the army, and some with Capt. Norton before the attack. They all appeared at the time very zealous, and we had hopes from their late conduct of their affording every assistance in future.

The U. States' people *applied* and *obtained* an unlimited armistice the day after the action. Gen. Sheaffe did not take possession of Fort Niagara, although the enemy had nearly abandoned it on the 13th; each offer to give the other thirty hours notice before hostilities were to commence; this only to extend to the Frontiers, by which means the enemy were allowed to repair their works unmolested; collect their forces at any point they chose and attack us in any other quarter; to guard against which, the whole militia of the country were called out en masse. They obeyed cheerfully, but it was of short duration. Knowing their property was going to destruction from their absence at this season of the year, and not obtaining *passes* for any short time to see to it, most of them retired of their own accord.

In short, this was the most ruinous policy that ever was or could be adopted for the country. The men seeing no prospect of an invasion, and not knowing how long the armistice would continue, [try, very naturally for them, to judge for themselves. The United States forces, profiting by our blunder, repaired their works, and made their arrangements for another attack in perfect security, while we were undergoing the same routine of duty as formerly, and dreading the hour the armistice was to end, As nearly all the militia, excepting the flank companies were absent.

In the latter end of November we were notified at Fort Erie that hostilities would recommence at the appointed time. As an attack was immediately expected, all was bustle and confusion. The militia were again ordered out en masse, and the usual activity again prevailing for a vigorous defence. Not to appear as unprepared as we were, a general cannonading was to take place along the line. It was continued without intermission during the day between Fort George and Niagara with very little effect on either side. The United States forces endeavored again to fire the town with hot shot, but were disappointed by the activity of the inhabitants. Many houses were injured. A tannery and brewery were burned near the river. Lieut. Col. Bishop, Inspecting Field Officer Militia, arrived the preceeding month; was appointed to command of the right of the line from Chippewa.

On the evening of the 28th of November, the enemy landed at Fort Erie, on Frenchman's Creek, with about three hundred and fifty men, infantry and sailors, under Capt. King; surprised and made most of our guard prisoners, and after a short but spirited skirmish, succeeded in capturing our batteries; spiked the guns, &c. Owing to the unavoidable confusion in repelling a night attack from our scattered forces, the militia retired from Frenchman's Creek, leaving a few boats there unguarded. On the morning of the 29th, Major Arnaud marched out of Fort Erie, made Capt. King and thirty-nine men prisoners; the remainder had marched down to Frenchman's Creek, and recrossed in the boats we left unguarded. We had two or three officers badly wounded, and lost a few men in this nocturnal visit. Lieut. King, Royal Artillery, remained at his gun till mortally wounded and made prisoner; fired her once or twice after every man had left her.

The plan of the attack was well arranged by the enemy, and as far as Capt. King, aid de camp, to Gen. Smith was concerned, most ably and nobly executed. He volunteered to land, capture the batteries and keep his position till the rest of the army followed. After accomplishing it, and sending back the boats, by some mismanagement, they were detained, and he left to his fate. On hearing of the attack, Col. Bishopp repaired to the scene with the militia from Chippewa; a part arriving at Frenchman's Creek at the break of day in time to repel a few boats under Col. Winder, who were coming to support their small party. They retired on the first volley. Gen. Smith in imitation of Gen. Hull, had sent over proclamations offering large rewards for horses and Indian accoutrements, (not saying at once scalps,) and publicly giving out his intentions of conquering the country; the greatest activity prevailed in remounting and getting the guns in order for a better reception than the last.

On the morning of the 30th, the United States Army was collected on the opposite shore, and embarked in their boats to the number of four thousand men. A flag was sent over to demand the surrender of Fort Erie, stating their force, and saying resistance would be useless. By this time we had four guns ready and six or seven hundred men prepared and willing to dispute their landing. Col. Bishopp returned a very polite message, saying he should have the honor of taking it by force of arms, not by negotiating. Before the flag reached their own shore, the boats retired under Squaw Island. A too scrupulous respect for the flag prevented our firing on them.

At 2 A. M. on the 2d of December, Gen. Smith again embarked his force with an intention of making an attempt before clo-

sing the campaign, fortunately for us, Col. Nicholl happened to be going the rounds, mistaking the hour, ordered the reveille to be sounded, on hearing which, Gen. Smith imagined we were on the alert and ready to receive him, quietly disembarked, and gave up the idea of taking Canada this year. Gen. Sheaffe would have abandoned Fort Erie, and made a stand at Chippewa had not Col. Bishopp and all his officers remonstrated warmly against it. Had the enemy gained possession of Fort Erie at this period it would have been impossible, with our small force to have dislodged them. Our duty was excessively severe, cold weather, and lying on our arms every night, being in constant expectation of attack till Christmas.

Seeing no disposition of an attack, the militia were mostly all sent home. The flank companies term of service expiring were dismissed with the greater part of Capt. Hamilton's Dragoons; a short respite were allowed them to indulge the pleasing satisfaction of having cheerfully done their duty in defence of their country.

Gen. Proctor hearing of the approach of the enemy, sent Capt. Muir with a few regulars and a body of Indians to attack Fort Wayne, on the Miami River. On their arrival near the place his scouts fell in with Gen. Winchester's camp. His force being too small to make an attack, he made a precipitate retreat, destroying all his amunition, &c., &c. Gen. Winchester taking courage at his retiring, moved on to the Rapids; and after Gen. Harrison arriving proceeded on to the River Raisin, after repelling a few militia and Indians, who defended themselves in the most gallant manner, and stockaded himself in a very advantageous position. Gen. Proctor left Amherstburgh; advanced quietly and attacked them at 3 A. M. on the 22d of February. They defended themselves with great gallantry until their general was taken, and five hundred killed and wounded; when the remaining six hundred surrendered under Col. Lewis, and were sent to Fort George, and parolled to their own country, excepting Gen. Winchester, Col. Lewis, Major Madison, and a few others.

I regret to say that some unavoidable cruelty occurred after this action. Our army fearing the approach of Gen. Harrison, retreated immediately to Amherstburgh. Some of the wounded were left in the house near the action. The Indians getting drunk, most inhumanly and brutally massacred them in cold blood; although the officers of the department exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner to prevent it. This circumstance has been very much exaggerated by the enemy; but a very few suffered, and those from being unable to proceed. This is the first instance, and I am shocked to relate it of deliberate



murder by our Indians. The only thing that will in the least extenuate it, is the conduct of some of the Kentucky riflemen, who were nearly as savage as the natives. In this action an officer endeavored to murder Capt. Caldwell, after he had preserved him from the Indians. This was the last effort of the enemy on our right. Gen. Harrison retired up the Miami, and built Fort Meigs.

Hitherto we had the undisputed possession of the lakes and remained in the most supine security not dreaming of a rival on that element; but we may observe as a general maxim, the greater the power, the less vigor and energy displayed. Our navy was placed under the command of Capt. Earl on Lake Ontario, and very much neglected. The enemy observing the advantages we derived from it, under the command of a most vigilant officer Commodore Chancey; built a new vessel, and refitted the small craft with the greater assiduity. In the latter end of November they appeared off, and attacked the Royal George in the harbor of Kingston; owing to the lateness of the season they dreamed of no adversary from their superiority.

Thus ends the campaign of 1812, most fortunate and glorious for our arms, and most destructive to those of the enemy; our own mismanagement or blunders turned out to our ultimate advantage. Col. St. George's ill behavior at Sandwich was the cause of Gen. Brock going up in person, consequently the means of taking the army which otherwise would certainly have the upper country. Sir George Provost was on the point of withdrawing the troops to Kingston, thinking it impossible to defend so large a frontier. At Queenston, had we repelled them in the morning their army would not have been captured later in the day; and they probably would have succeeded in the last attack, as our force was so very weak. We had two regular artillery officers and part of a company to oppose three or four regiments of the enemy. Our inferiority of force was sensibly felt.

The greatest misfortune we experienced was in deaths. A very great number of the militia owing to the hard service, change of diet, &c., &c., were carried off very suddenly. We had long to regret the loss of Col. Butler, 4th regiment, Lincoln Militia, and his brother, who died November.

During this quiet interval, every preparation was making for the next campaign, our small means would admit of. The Commander-in-Chief visited the frontier, and authorized the raising of one or two regiments of militia, to be incorporated to serve during the war, under martial law.

The former was given to me; the latter to Capt. Swazy, who for his zeal and long services justly deserved it. A few captains

got their complement; the forces of militia, drivers, and dragoons were completed by the 25th of March. Capt. C. artillery some time after; my quota was completed in a fortnight after receiving my recruiting orders, although I had to encounter many jealousies and difficulties. Were all excellent men, but badly mounted and appointed. The President, Gen. Sheaffe, removed his headquarters to York. Gen. Vincent commanded the centre on Niagara Frontier: we were reinforced with the whole of the 49th regiment at the latter end of last campaign. Part of the Glen Lt. infantry, two companies Royal Newfoundland, and part of the Kings' arrived in the beginning of April. No larger force could be spared from below.

## CHAPTER III.

### APPOINTED TO RAISE A TROOP.

On the 25th of February, 1813, I retired from the service with a strong desire never to re-enter it. I had some thoughts of making proposals to raise a troop of Provincial Dragoons to serve during the war, as many of the men wished to join me. Major Glegg, Gen. Brock's aid de camp, appeared to be particularly anxious, promising to get me recruiting orders immediately; however as soon as he found my father and Capt. Hamilton had offered, he cut me, he wishing me to serve as a Lieutenant which I positively refused. My father was the best courtier of the three; got the troop, at least was to have it, after he raised it which was under very disadvantageous terms. Neither Capt. Hamilton nor myself were anxious to get it, when we found the other had an idea of it. I went quietly home; entered into a contract for timber, &c. Made more money in a week than I had during the war; was preparing to go down early to Montreal and bring up goods. After receiving the letter in September last had more confidence; was quite in high spirits, in fact; I had made a peace, the ensuing spring in my own warm imagination; however, the pleasing dream was of short duration.

My father having undertaken it, and not getting on in the recruiting way as fast as he was led to believe, finding the fatigue and trouble more than he could well bear, got completely tired of it. Gen. Vincent, then commanding, selected me to raise a troop, as a corps of that description was very much wanted. Ac-

cordingly, on the 11th of March I was sent for, and finding it impossible to remain at home and attend to any business whatever when the country was in danger of an invasion, I accepted of the appointment. My father which was more proper going home in my place. I was, as usual, promised every encouragement and assistance from every officer in command. The arrangement was previously agreed to by my father much against my will. The men had to find their own horses; very small bounty and pay, only fifteen pence for man and horse. The men to be regularly enlisted to serve during the war and subject to corporal punishment. At the same time there was a corps of Royal Artillery Drivers raising. A company of incorporated artillery, and three regiments of incorporated militia, all on much more favorable terms than the dragoons. I was determined, however, to persevere if possible, since I had undertaken it. Mr. Ingersoll had been promised a Lieutenantcy by my father; of course, he continued. I promised my friend, Mr. McKenney a coronetcy; he was a private in the militia dragoons at the commencement of the war; he was with me during the last campaign, scarcely a day off duty. By his merit he was appointed gradually to the rank of Quartermaster. I sent him to Fort Erie. Lieut. Ingersoll to York, and Sergeants in different parts of the country, and I remained in Niagara and its vicinity. The first week to my great astonishment, passed twenty-five men; I was under the necessity of purchasing horses, &c. Was put to a very great expense. When my General and others found I was thus getting on so well they threw every obstacle in my way. I had 4 or 5 men taken away and placed into other corps, the officers of which all conspired against me; they were jealous of so young a man getting the command of a separate corps, by which means I doubled my exertions; likewise my friend, Lieut. Barnard, Staff Adjutant to Col. Bishopp, enlisted two or three men for me himself and did everything in his power to assist me; likewise Capt. Hamilton and many others. My men came in so fast the General thought it was very easy getting them, and made many objections in passing them, particularly the horses, which certainly were not of the best. It was very difficult getting young men to enlist as private soldiers who were able to keep a horse. I conceived myself so ill used by certain officers, I was on the point of giving it up, after nearly completing my complement. The men hearing it came to me, represented the situation they were in so forcibly, it was impossible to leave them. On the 21st, my different partners came in. On the 25th I completed the complement of two subalterns, Serg. Major, three Sergeants, two Corporals, Trumpeter and forty men, all fine, stout, able-bodied fellows. Was very



much indebted to the exertions of Cornet McKenney in raising them. Most of the other corps fell through. Gordon and my sister remained in Niagara. I stopped with them. The appointments promised for the troop not arriving, they were in a sad condition. My attention was entirely taken up in drilling and getting them in order. I was flattered with an idea of keeping them together and having an opportunity of their distinguishing themselves. They were no sooner mounted than they were dispersed over the country in different directions. I meant to do my duty, but gave up all hopes of doing anything with them. They were made post boys and orderlies, and to the very General who hindered their formation.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR OPENING THE CAMPAIGN.

The enemy showed every demonstration of an attack on the Niagara Frontier. They were building a large vessel at Kingston, another was laid down at York, by which proceeding, York being taken, we lost her.

Sir James L. Yeo arrived early in the season, with a chosen body of seamen to take command of the Lake; during this time the enemy were not idle. They built and got the decided superiority on Lake Ontario. To open the campaign a large force had collected at Fort Niagara and Buffalo. Another at Sackett's Harbor, under Major Gen. Dearborn, which obliged us to keep a large force at Kingston for its protection as that, we imagined would be the first point of attack.

Seeing such vigor in the enemy we were obliged to redouble our efforts. The ice went off early in April. Part of the militia were called out. Posts were established along the Lake to Burlington. A respectable force kept at Fort Erie under Col. Bissell. A partial cannonading took place there on St. Patrick's Day, 17th March; very little damage done on either side.

On the 27th of April, the State's troops opened the campaign in earnest by attacking and capturing York. Our force was very small at that post; fortifications not worth mentioning. The enemy landed on the right of the garrison in a wood. Were opposed by a few militia and a grenadier company, Kings, who held the ground till their Captain and every man was killed or wounded, except fifteen or twenty men out of one hundred and twelve. They were the first company in Canada. Gen. Shaw of militia was sent with a few of Newfoundland and Glengaries. Did not get into the action. After blowing up the magazine, (which killed a number of the enemy,) Gen. Shaw retired towards Kingston, leaving the town to make the best terms they could.

Mostly all the militia were paroled. We lost a great quantity of stores, &c., with our new ship, which would have given us a decided superiority on the Lakes.

We were kept in the most disagreeable suspense at Fort George till the 30th, when we learnt the fate of the place. We imagined the explosion was one of their vessels; supposed they were driven off. This fatal intelligence dampened all our hopes. We expected they would fortify and keep possession of it, and cut off all our supplies.

After the capture of York, I was sent to bring down the boats at Burlington. I performed this service so quick that Generals Vincent and Harvey whom I conceived to be the most captious, took me by the hand—thanked me for the service I had performed—praised my zeal, &c., &c. Appearances after this changed; the former ever after proved my best friend; he was really and truly a good man. I was made a volunteer aid to Col. Harvey. The boats from Burlington were all brought to Fort George, militia called out and a most vigilant lookout kept in all quarters. On the 2d or 3d, we were surprised to see the enemy's fleet appearing off Niagara. Alarm guns were fired; all the troops and militia lying on their arms all night. After burning the Parliament, and every house or building in the shape of government or public they had evacuated the capital.

I had the pleasure of riding every night up and down the river with Col. Harvey. We found the dragoons now of service. There was a patrol every night up to Queenstown and back. Our horses were getting better, and the men received every encouragement they needed, as it was impossible for the duty to be more severe. Some men were actually on picquet twelve to fourteen hours following. I had the cropped ear mare on trial for the sake of the former owner and had the greater regard for her. Many false alarms took place.

On the morning of the 25th, they commenced cannonading; burnt the barracks, &c., in Fort George, evidently their next point of attack. Every precaution was taken to prevent a surprise and repel an attack. Arrangements were made judiciously; unhappily our force was not equal to it. The right from Fort George to Brown's Point, just below Vroman's, was under the command of Col. Harvey; left from Fort George to Four Mile Creek, now Laurensville, which is on the right, or Swamp Road, under Col. Myers. The centre or reserve, under Gen. Vincent. In rear of Fort George in different ravines, two companies, 41st and one of 49th and two of Newfoundland, were stationed on the right—King's and militia on left. Either to be supported as occasion might require by 49th Glengaries and militia on reserve. It was

impossible for the duty to have been more severe than at this period.

#### TAKING NIAGARA, THE FORMER CAPITOL.

On the 27th, at 4 A. M., they were discovered approaching us under a thick heavy fog, off the Four Mile Creek, outside in a number of boats, and leave in three brigades, covered by their shipping and Fort Niagara. Our left division was ordered back in a ravine, as the enemy completely infiladed the plain and shore with shot and shells from the fleet and fort. I was sent up to rendezvous as the greater part of A. D. C. Harvey's Division was on the right. The fog was so very heavy, we could not discover their movements on the opposite side. The General was apprehensive they meditated an attack likewise on our right, by which means only the grenadier company, Newfoundland, was brought into action. Of the right division, three companies Glen-garies, two militia companies, 6th Newfoundland were posted in advance to oppose the landing of the United States forces.

At 9 o'clock, they commenced landing at Crookston. The Major of our advance was killed. They were supported by the King's who suffered nearly as much; as the enemy had gained the bank on their approach. They were compelled to fall back on the reserve, which were posted in Gordon's Ravine. I was sent for the 49th, which was formed in the centre, our whole force not exceeding eight hundred men; we remained marching and counter-marching, retreating and advancing, till the enemy had advanced nearly within musket shot, when a retreat was ordered. The 24th Provincial Battery was left by its officer after firing one shot, by which means we were totally unable to annoy them. We formed again at the barracks, near the Council House when I was sent to order down the light company of the King's, who, we understood, were at the Eight Mile Creek.

On my way, I passed by old Mr. Butler's, Ball's and Servis'; at all those places, the ladies and non-combatants of the town had retired, likewise all the wounded that could get away; it was really painful to see, and hear the distress of the women. I was stopped every few moments to satisfy their inquiries as to the safety of some husband, father, brother or son; the women had collected in groups, in every public place through the country.

In passing Shipman's at 12 Mile Creek, I quieted the fears of those for whom I had the greatest regard. I did not meet the



boats till I arrived at the 20 Mile Creek; although I had to answer many questions to the different people who stopped me. I was only one hour and a half going from Fort George to the 20 Mile Creek.

After finding where the boats were, I returned to Shipman's, where I received a message to go to De Cews, to which place our army had returned; directly after my leaving, the enemy advanced; Gen. Vincent, knowing Fort George not to be tenable, and his force too small to risk an action, retired by the way of Queenston. Gordon was in the Fort, and had barely time to get out, when the State's troops entered. Cornet McKenney set fire to the stores, though he did not succeed in burning them.

#### RETREAT CONTINUED UP TO BURLINGTON—DRAGOONS NEXT TO ENEMY.

Col. Bishopp from Fort Erie was ordered to join us at De Cews with the men on the frontier, after destroying the stores. Next morning, May 28th, we were joined by all the militia of the country, who expected, now that our force was concentrated, that we would give them battle, and prevent their penetrating into the country; to our great surprise and annoyance an order was issued for all the wagons to be impressed, and the army to retreat to the 40 Mile Creek. As many of the militia as chose to follow might, the rest were at liberty to return to their families. I strongly suspected from the indifferent manner in which the militia were treated that part of the Upper Province was to be abandoned, which opinion was entertained by most people. A great many went home, but the greater part went on to the 40 Mile Creek, trusting a stand would be made there.

I felt in a sad dilemma. The thought of abandoning the country, and leaving everything that was near and dear to me, was most distressing, still more so, the unhappy situation of my family, whom we left totally unprotected. My father knowing the insults he would be subject to if he remained, determined to follow the army.

For me there was no alternative, or I would certainly have remained behind to protect my mother and sisters. In the afternoon I went home to get the remainder of my kit, as most of my things had been taken by the enemy at Fort George. A sad and distressing scene, I witnessed on my arrival. Mrs. Adams and family had heard of Mr. Adams being killed and were in despair; every other family, in parting with their relatives, gave

them over as lost. This neighborhood, retreated with the army almost to a man; in the evening I took leave and followed on, and overtook Gen. Vincent at the 40 Mile Creek, where I learned we were to retreat on to Burlington Heights.

The militia had no encouragement to follow, as they were given to understand the army would not stop until they arrived at Kingston.

Early in the morning of the 29th, I was sent out to reconnoitre and find out how far the enemy had advanced. Sending my horses to the rear I pressed others to go on, having a party of ten men. On my arrival at 12 Mile Creek, I found some of the enemy had proceeded to De Cews, with 40 to 50 horsemen.

At Shipman's I found that the enemy had not advanced with any large force; I returned to the 20 Mile Creek and sent a few men on in advance; I went home by the Lake road, where I had the satisfaction to find that Mr. Adams was not killed but wounded, and was in a fair way of recovery: I persuaded my father to return home and take care of the family. I remained till midnight, and then took leave, returning to the 40 Mile Creek; I received an order to remain there with a few militia men and my dragoons, until we were driven away by the enemy who had pushed forward precipitately. A flag of truce came up; Major Pickney, Captains Armstrong and Furguson detained them for a time; as soon as they left, I received intelligence of the enemy's approach.

My videttes were driven in from the 20 Mile Creek early in the morning; in the afternoon, the enemy advanced within three miles of me. A party of twenty or thirty horsemen came on to the 40 Mile Creek, which obliged me to retire on our advance to Stoney Creek; by this time I was completely knocked up; so were both men and horses, having been deprived of sleep and rest for six or eight days.

On my joining the main body at Burlington, a relief was sent in my place, taking up my quarters at Barton to recruit; my sister Mrs. Gordon came up and joined the army with her husband. It was a seasonable reinforcement for me, as I was generally provided with good quarters when she was present.

The enemy kept pressing on; on the 5th and 6th of June, they drove in our picquets as far as Aikman's; on the 6th I dined with Gordon, who was stationed at Dundas. After returning to my quarters, I was ordered to fall in with the main body at Barnards; here the troops were formed in order of battle, expecting the enemy every moment. Col. Harvey and Cornet McKenney went on in advance as far as Davis'; made one or two prisoners and

found the enemy encamped at Stoney Creek. They had also a party of 1500 on the Lake Shore.

#### BATTLE OF STONY CREEK.

Mr. George, an Ensign in the militia, suggested an attack on them in the camp. Ensign McKinney suggested the same and claims the priority. Col. Harvey approved of the plan, and on his return from reconnoitering, proposed it to Gen. Vincent, who after a little deliberation carried it into effect; most of the officers were lying on the grass, some of whom were fast asleep, myself among the number.

The order came to move forward; we had to march six miles before we came up to their picquets; our force consisted of 500 men with one field piece in the rear, which was of no manner of use.

All my hopes depended upon this bold enterprise, for had we not attacked them, they would have advanced the next morning, and in all probability, we should have retired without risking an action, as our force was not one-third of theirs; Proctor and the whole Upper Country would have fallen.

On our arrival at Davis', we heard a report of a gun from their picquet: the detachment halted, formed into sections, and the loading drawn from each gun. The light companies of the 49th Kings were in advance. Gen. Vincent and staff, at the head of the column in their rear.

I was attached to him for the night. The enemy were encamped on Gage's fields in a very advantageous position; 2,000 men on the hill to the right of the road; 500 in a lane on the left, in advance of their artillery, which was situated on a hill directly in front of the road that our troops must come; their picquets nearly half a mile in advance in the woods. These we made prisoners, without giving alarm. On our entering the clearing, we were fired on by the second picquet, who were more alert. The 500 on our left, were the first that were discovered.

Gen. Vincent ordered a charge immediately; our men set up a tremendous shout, which continued along the whole line, and was the cause of throwing the enemy into the greatest disorder and confusion imaginable. Our two light companies of the 49th routed the 500 before the main body had time to come up. Cornet George was by my side, and told me the fight was over and the victory ours; I happened to cast my eye around and discovered the fires of the main body which I shewed him. Col. Har-



vey and the officers were using every exertion, to get the men formed, when the enemy opened a most tremendous fire on us from the hill; likewise opened from their guns.

Our men were dispersed in every direction, and had not Col. Penderleth charged and captured their guns, with thirty men, we should have been completely defeated; I never heard so rapid a discharge of musketry; the hill was a continual sheet of fire; however, after capturing their artillery, and both their Generals, they thought proper to retire off the field.

At the appearance of day light, we followed their example, fearing when they discovered our force, they would renew the attack. After we left the field, Col. Harvey desired me to return and if possible find Major General Vincent, supposed to be either dead or wounded; whilst I was looking over the dead and wounded, not thinking of the enemy, I was challenged by a sentry under old Gage's house. I was on the point of surrendering, as my pistols were both in my holsters, when I adopted the stratagem of enquiring "who placed him there?" and rode up to him; he, by my blue military coat, took me for one of his own party and answered his Captain who had just gone into the house with a party of men.

I then enquired, if he had found the British General, and pulled out my pistol, which made him drop his gun. At that moment a man without any gun ran down the hill; I called him; he came—when I had the good fortune to secure both and bring them off; by my dress, they took me for one of their own officers; that stratagem had succeeded once before, or I should not have thought of it.

#### ARMY RETURN—DRAGOONS IN ADVANCE.

The enemy retreated early in the morning of the 7th; when the Indians discovered it, they came on in droves. The fleet, likewise, made its appearance which was a very fortunate circumstance for us. The militia raised en masse made a number of prisoners. The States troops had already given them a sample of their policy, by countenancing traitors, and making prisoners of the most respectable inhabitants.

I was rejoiced to get back as far as the 12 Mile Creek, near my home. I volunteered to keep on the advance till the army came down, which I found to be a very unpleasant situation. Our outposts were at the 20 Mile Creek.

The enemy kept very close in their entrenchments until the

10th. Hearing of my being in the neighborhood with only ten men, they sent a party to make us prisoners. On that evening I heard by a man who came out of their camp, that one hundred riflemen and a party of horse, were under orders for the 12 Mile Creek. I remained the night before at Butler's, rode up to Shipman's; fell in with Captains Norton and Kerr with about thirty Indians.

We laid in ambush for them in the Pine Woods, and would have succeeded in routing them, had it not been for bad management. I took the precaution to send the dragoons ahead in different roads to prevent the enemy coming upon us by surprise. They were to decoy them on until they led them to the ambush where the Indians lay; as they were not expected until the evening, Capt. Kerr and myself went to old Dittrick's to take some refreshment. Capt. Norton followed with all the Indians; I likewise had recalled the dragoon from the middle road, and sent him to 10 Mile Creek where there was one already placed. On hearing which I returned immediately, and was galloping up the hill, when I heard the State's bugle sound a halt; in another minute would have been among them; I had merely time to wheel my horse and ride over the creek, when a party advanced to the bridge.

The enemy had unfortunately come up the road where there was no lookout, and made the dragoon prisoner stationed at Shipman's, likewise one on the Lake Road, and one on the 10 Mile Creek. The two latter were riding back to the very ambush, where they had left the Indians, which the State's troops had taken possession of.

They hailed; one answered a dragoon, thinking they were his own party, when they fired; he returned two shots and surrendered; his companion took to the woods and escaped. On my return to Dittrick's, Captain Norton was to go round and attack them in the rear.

I was to keep a sharp lookout in front; after hearing a discharge, I was to advance and meet them; I went on to Hainer's Hill, and sent an old woman over to reconnoitre and ascertain their number. She was detained; but by an excellent stratagem she got released; she told me their situation, and there I was anxiously waiting at my post until 3 o'clock in the morning without hearing the signal shot. I returned to Dittrick's and found part of the Indians, whom I had left there. Capt. Norton was off; nobody knew where, with the remainder. I returned to the 20 Mile Creek, to give Major Dennis the necessary information. I found him in full retreat from Henry's, as Captain Norton had gone up and reported the enemy were advancing in strong force.

They came to Shipman's—made my three men prisoners—but could gain no information of me, or anything material. They searched Chisholm's, went round to my father's—searched there—and after frightening the women returned to Fort George.

Mr. Tolman was their guide. I sent a man to my father's the same night, who told him they behaved very well wherever they stopped to search. On the 11th of June, I returned to my old station, shifting about every few hours. On the 12th, early in the morning, I had been out on the different roads, but could gain no information of importance; returned to Shipman's at 12 Mile Creek, and went on over to Dittrick's with four or five men to get a sleep, as we were all up the night before.

I left a man on Hainer's Hill, who was to ride down across the meadow by the barn, if anything transpired so as to give us timely warning.

I sent another man to DeCoos, being apprehensive, they would come round about that way and surprise us. We were joined by Hainer, Clendenning, and a few of the inhabitants who were very active. Our horses were in the barn feeding and we sleeping by their sides. One man on the lookout. About 3 o'clock he discovered about thirty of the enemy's cavalry at the heels of my dragoon, who saved us by his prudent management.

On his discovering them, he rode down the hill, found the barn fence up; returned to the place he left, by which time they were in gunshot. On their rising the hill, they gave him the start—halted—halloood, and faced about, which was the means of their bringing up—thinking there was a party in the rear; this gave us time to mount and be off.

He then took up the mill road, which drew their attention from Dittrick's. I crossed the creek by Camble's, and went up to Brown's, where we were within five minutes of falling in with the party from DeCoos. As I suspected—they had sent two parties, who were to meet at Shipman's, thinking all within that compass was their own, taking the road by Beamer's and Dow's. They had already possession of the other road, as far as the 15 Mile Creek. We fell in with one of their scouts, who took us for United State's troops, and gave us every information of our own army. He was rather surprised, at my making him a prisoner, and sending him to our main body at Burlington. On the 16th, Fitzgibbon came down with his party. Our advance pushed on to the 10 Mile Creek, which gave my men very great relief, as it was too confined for the troop between the two armies, no field to act on, the mountain, where Fitzgibbon remained with his party, was the only desirable ground. Cornet McKenney was attached to him with a few Dragoons.



The service had been so very severe prior to this, that our horses were completely used up. Captain Hall arrived with a party of 19th Dragoons, which were likewise a very great relief. Colonel Bishopp commanded the advance—head quarters at the 20 Mile Creek. Major DeHearn was at the 10 Mile Creek with 200 of the 104th, and 300 Indians, principally Coughnewagas, who had arrived from their settlement near La Chine, in Lower Canada. He left a strong picquet on the lake shore road, his right being at Turney's Cross Road, near the German meeting house. Fitzgibbon's head quarters were at DeCoos, on the mountain, although he was always on the move, and never sleeping twice in the same place.

The Dragoons kept patrolling from the German meeting house to the lake. Circumstances that had ever been fresh in my memory were the means of giving me a perfect knowledge of every by-road in that part of the country, which proved of the greatest service to me on many occasions. On the 19th, Fitzgibbon heard of Chapin's party being on the way to Chippewa from Fort George.

On the 21st in the afternoon, young Barnard, Staff Adjutant to Col. Bishopp, Fitzgibbon, McKenney, Cummings, and myself, with one Dragoon, were sent to the Sugar Loaf, or rather Point Abino, for Mr. Tice Horn, as information had been lodged against him for giving information to the enemy. The enemy were then in possession of Fort Erie and all the country about Chippewa. We arrived at the mouth of Lundy's Lane at 9 o'clock in the evening, and were near being fired on by a party of the inhabitants, who were skulking away from the enemy. Chapin had passed down that way an hour before. We were therefore apprehensive of meeting him and his party on our return. It commenced raining, and continued so all night. At 2 in the morning we arrived at Horn's, surrounded the house, made him and one of Chapin's party prisoners. We could with difficulty mount or dismount our horses, the night was so cold, with the rain, we were all completely chilled through. We returned to the 12 Mile Creek by 9 o'clock the next morning, having executed our mission. I went to the 40 Mile Creek that same evening to make out our muster roll against the 24th. I always remained at Mrs. Lewis's at the 40 Mile Creek, as the Nellis family were crowded with every officer that could find accommodation. Capt. Hall was sent on with a part of his own and my men to DeCoos. I had a good rest for two days, which was very desirable, as I not two nights regular sleep since the 6th inst.

On the 24th Col. Boastlar came out to endeavor to take Fitzgibbon. He had about 600 men, including Chapin's party; suffice it here to say, that he got caught in the trap he intended for

the other; but 6 men escaped, Totman was one. At 11 o'clock we heard of the enemy advancing. I was ordered on with my party to reinforce the advance; on our arrival at the 20 Mile Creek, I had the satisfaction of hearing that the detachment were all made prisoners. I got down in time to form an escort to take them on to the 20 Mile Creek. Early next morning we were all sent to DeCoos, and patrolled from thence to the lake. Nothing material occurred for a few days, but slight skirmishing on the Swamp Road.

Capt. Narton, who commanded the Indians, humorously observed on the battle of Beaver Dam, "the Cognauaga Indians fought the battle, the Mohawks got the plunder, and Fitzgibbon got the credit."

There evidently was some jealousy between the Cognauogas and the Six Nations Indians, for the greater part of the former returned home to the Lower Province a few days after the successful battle, which was a great loss to our cause. Gen. Vincent moved on the army to the 12 Mile Creek, (now St. Catharines,) taking up his head quarters at Squire Adams's homestead. On the 29th we were sadly alarmed at DeCoos by a report from the Doctor that the whole States' army was advancing by Queenston and Chippewa Roads. We were all drawn up under the command of Col. Dennis of the 49th, in order of battle, expecting them on momentarily. I was sent ahead to reconnoitre, with a few men; the report had spread to every house; the people were all at their doors looking for them, each saying they were at their neighbor's house. After feeling my way as far as Kilman's along by-roads, a fellow told me they were at McCarty's, for he had seen them. After cautiously approaching the the house through the woods, I found they had not been there; I kept on to Knox's, when I heard they were at the village of Saint Davids, crossed over to Smith's—found they had not left their entrenchments. On 1st July our advance was pushed on to St. Davids.

On the same day, or rather evening, I was sent to Fort Erie to bring down Mr. Hardison, who was accused of adhering to the enemy. I arrived at Wintermute's at dark, and found a party of the enemy were at the Ferry. As I had but three men, I was under the necessity of avoiding them. I got round by the woods, made Hardison prisoner, and returned by the same route. I got lost and had a deal of trouble in getting back, as my guide, whom I had placed as sentry, had run away on discovering a man or two, and hearing a shot. I rode all night, and returned to DeCoos at nine in the morning. I took a nap and in the afternoon went over to the 12 Mile Creek, where Mr. Hardison, whom I had brought prisoner, was liberated. Here I was presented to Major-

General DeRottenburgh, who had arrived to take the command of the army, as well as being President of the Province. He brought with him a very great name, so that we expected he would do wonders—in fact, he did nothing.

On the 3d was my birth day, of my twentieth year. My kind mother had provided an excellent dinner for me and a few friends.

I was sent with a flag of truce, in company with Major Fulton. Our advance pickets on the lake road were at the Eight Mile Creek. Near the Two Mile Creek we were met by Major Forsyth and his Riflemen. He abused us in a most scurrilous manner, made us prisoners, and marched us into their pickets at Secord's, where we remained for two or three hours on horseback, although the family wished to pay us every attention in their power.

Major Fulton insisted upon giving up his sword, and remaining a prisoner, but they would not receive it. He called an officer, and begged him to notice what had passed.

We were liberated, and returned and dined with the Rev. Mr. Addison, at his house on the Lake Shore. We sat with him till near night, when we galloped back to the Twelve Mile Creek and made our report to General de Rottenburg, who forwarded it to General Dearborn, at the same time saying, unless Major Forsyth's conduct was taken notice of, there would be an end to all communication between the two armies.

The flag was sent in by one of my corporals; an answer was sent back in a few days, saying he had been dismissed the service for some time. Major Forsyth was shot at Odell Town, in Lower Canada, by a skirmishing party.

On the 5th, one hundred and forty Indians from the west came down, under the command of Captain Elliott Blachbird's party of Ottawas. The Indians with us saluted them on their arrival in high state.

#### SKIRMISH WITH INDIANS ON EXPEDITION FOR RECOVERY OF MEDICINE.

On the 6th I was sent down to discover whether the medicine that was deposited at Cassel Chorus', near Niagara, remained safe. I went by the way of St. David's; Captain Hamilton, Jarvis, McKenny and Ball joined me. We converted it into a party of pleasure, instead of danger, taking it by turns to reconnoitre and find out the coast was clear. A small party of States troops had just returned from Mrs. Fray's, at the cross roads; we took our dinner there and went on to Choruses—found all safe. The States picket was at the end of the lane; we made a dash up to it, as if with the intention of charging them; they ran before



we came within gunshot. They had detained two women, Mrs. Cain and her daughter, who came off in a very great fright, fearing they might be re-taken. Hamilton and McKenny took them up behind them and galloped off. A few minutes after, out came two or three hundred dragoons and infantry, when we make off. They plundered the farms within their reach, and then went back. We went round the Lake Road, and spent the afternoon with the ladies at Mrs. McNabb's. Miss Symington, Crooks, and most of the ladies had rendezvoned there—returned to the 12 Mile Creek in the evening.

Next day the Indians were sent to the 10 Mile Creek, with directions to move under Captain Norton's orders. At 2 o'clock next morning, 8th of July, they were to place themselves in the woods fronting Ball's, in order to cover me in getting off the medicine, having received orders that night to accomplish it, if possible, as it was of the utmost importance to the army at this time. At the dawn of day, I went down to the 10 Mile Creek. No person knew of Indians advancing; no waggon provided; every thing in the greatest confusion. I got a detachment of King's Regiment, went on the Swamp Road, and sent the waggon by Saint David's. We did not reach the spot till near 8 o'clock. Had the medicine chest dug up, loaded and sent off, before I learnt Norton was in the advance—sent the soldiers back with the waggon.

Lieutenant Collis, of the King's, the subaltern and myself went over to Squire P. Ball's, and partook of an excellent breakfast with the ladies, and then went out to the main road to find Mr. Norton. The instant we arrived, the scouting party had commenced skirmishing. Collis returned to his men. Mr. John Ball and myself were the only whites present, except John Law, a boy 13 years of age, whose father was made prisoner dangerously wounded on the 27th of May at Fort George. His elder brother was killed in the same action; seven balls passed through him. This little fellow was determined to revenge the loss his family had sustained, and would not be persuaded to leave the field, till his mother, after the fight was nearly over, came out and took him away in her arms by force.

We were anxious to get away, as we were both mounted and had no guns. Whenever we attempted it, the Indians followed. As we had come to where we had no business, we were under the necessity of remaining and sharing their fate. We were provided with a couple of red coats which had been left with Mrs. Laws—a necessary precaution to prevent being shot by our own Indians. We rode on in advance, and then retreated, endeavoring to bring

the States' troops out, as the Indians were very anxious to meet them.

At length, about 500 infantry, with a few dragoons, came out. As soon as they made their appearance, the greater part of our Indians returned to the woods by Choruses, which was far the best position. Accordingly we followed them, and lined the front of the woods and edge of the road. The enemy came on within 300 yards of the wood, when a party of dragoons made a charge. We were ready to receive them but, at a few yards distance they wheeled about and went back. A few of our foremost men gave them a shot, which the States troops returned at 300 yards distance, which gave our men courage to advance. We had but 60 men near us; the rest were half a mile in the rear. Ball and myself dismounted and urged them on. As the States men perceived we were advancing in earnest, they retired very precipitately. As soon as the Indians saw this, they all ran on, shouting in the most hideous manner.

A party of the enemy, consisting of two officers and 50 men, were sent out from Mrs. Butler's, on Ball's Road, with an intention of flanking us. I pointed them out to the Indians, who ran to the right, and completely cut them off from the main body. Only seven of them made their escape.

I gained my horse, left off the pursuit, and turned my whole attention to the prisoners. The first one or two were brought out from the wood, at the end of the Lane, by Blackbird, the Indian Chief, who threatened them with instant death, accompanied with gestures not of the most agreeable or pleasing description. I rode up between them, and was very shortly threatened myself for interference. The poor devils were crying and imploring me to save their lives, as I was the only white man they saw. After getting an interpreter, they promised the lives of the prisoners should be saved, and would only frighten them a good deal, to prevent their coming again. I made a solemn vow, if a prisoner was killed, never to go out with an Indian again. Fortunately, all that were taken were mercifully treated, except Adjutant Eldridge, the officer who forfeited his life by firing at an Indian while a prisoner. During the whole of the affair, the ladies were eye witnesses from J. and P. Ball's windows.

We had two Indians wounded. The United States loss was 50 killed and taken prisoners. Our Indians followed them to Butler's Meadows. Directly after, the States men marched out nearly their whole army. We quietly retired within our pickets.

For this rencontre, I was mentioned in general orders, and got much more credit than I deserved, as I was most completely drawn into it, against my will. Mr. Ball was taken no notice of,

because he was a volunteer. I was rather flattered by this mark of distinction, conscious the service had been well performed. Although I had many zealous friends, yet jealousy and envy will ever follow a young man if he obtains notice. I was then only 20 years of age. I most cordially and honestly confess that my first and only design in entering the situation I now hold was a desire of serving and defending my country, and not from any motive of military ambition.

General de Rottenburg lived at my father's ; the house was open for every body during the remainder of the campaign ; there never were less than 10 or 12 people constantly in it.

The Indians about this time were particularly troublesome in the neighborhood where they were encamped at the 10 Mile Creek. I removed to that station with the greatest part of the troop, which kept them in check.

#### HEADQUARTERS REMOVED TO ST. DAVIDS.

Shortly after, the head quarters of the army were removed to St. Davids, our army occupying the Four Mile Creek road ; the left at Servos on the Lake ; picket near a mile in advance ; centre on the Swamp Road. Those positions were entrenched. The picket in Ball's fields, with the American sentry within sight ; our left were at St. Davids—a very strong picket at Queenston Heights. My troop was ordered on to St. Davids.

I remained at Mr. Smith's, an excellent quarter, with but very little to do, as the skirmishing was altogether at the cross road. I frequently visited Mr. G. Turneys, as I used to the Colonels while I was at DeCoos. Miss Nancy was the only young lady who seemed happy to see us to tea ; she was a constant attendant at Mr. Eastman's lectures. Whilst at Mr. Smith's I was taken sick, which, however, only lasted a few days.

On the 20th, a troop of the 19th Light Dragoons arrived, and I obtained permission to go down to Montreal to fetch up the appointments that had so long been promised my troop. The men were nearly naked—many deficient in saddles and bridles—and were made complete post-boys of. They did their duty in the most patient manner, although they were sadly abused. On the 26th they were inspected by Captain Hall, Inspector of Cavalry. I obtained the most flattering letters from Colonel Harvey and others to Colonel Baynes, Adjutant-General.

On the 28th I made my arrangements, and left the 12 Mile Creek, for Montreal, with a servant, on horseback. I arrived at Kingston on the 2d of August. Here I met Colonel O'Neil and



another troop of the 19th on their way up. I presented my letter to Colonel Bayne, who received me with the most polite attention. I was presented to Sir George Provost and other distinguished individuals. The next day I applied for the appointments for the men, at the same time stating the situation they had been in since their formation, when I was given to understand, though not in plain language, that the removal of the 19th Regulars had done away, or lessened the necessity of their services; had it not been for my personal exertions the troop would have been disbanded; further, that the war could not possibly last more than six months. After this broad hint, I offered to resign; he recommended me not for the present. Major Fulton proved really friendly in this instance.

I went on to Montreal, with not quite so favorable an opinion of the Commander-in-Chief as formerly, I found I was a particular favorite when of particular service, and that once over I was soon forgotten. In short, there was a sort of prejudice against the inhabitants by military men, which was getting to a great length.

On my arrival at Montreal I waited on Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe, who was very attentive, likewise Captain Loring, his Aid-de-Camp. They both did everything in their power for me. I spent three weeks in this place with the greatest satisfaction, and found that the inhabitants of Upper Canada had full credit for every thing they had done in defence of the country. I was flattered in finding that the regulars had not obtained all the glory.

On my return, I was accompanied as far as La Chine by ten or twelve gentlemen of the town, with whom I had formed an acquaintance, together with a Mr. Broomhead, an English gentleman, who accompanied me to Upper Canada for the purpose of seeing the Niagara Falls. I arrived at Kingston on the 28th of August, with a large brigade of boats, 85 in number, and five gunboats to guard them. I could only procure the men's clothing, as the appointments had not arrived at Quebec.

After an infinite deal of trouble, I obtained a boat at Kingston, and left there on the 1st September, in company with two other boats. After passing the carrying place, I had much difficulty in recovering my horses, which I had left at Keeler's, an innkeeper at Hamilton's. In passing Presquise, I heard a cannonading between the two fleets. It was a running fight from Quebec to Kingston.

On the 10th, early in the morning, I left Smith's Creek with a fair wind—discovered two sails ahead. Fearing they might be the enemy, I very prudently put back to the Creek. I took a boat and reconnoitred, and found them to be enemies, so returned and landed everything from the boats, one of which had a quantity

of specie for the commissariat. We drew up our forces at the mouth of the Creek (consisting of 20 men, with 12 muskets only). I sent expresses in all directions for the militia. The vessels came opposite us and laid off for some time, but did not think proper to land.

Nothing particular occurred during the remainder of the passage to the 12 Mile Creek, at the head of navigation, adjoining my father's farm, where we arrived on 20th September. All the troops landed and marched to the lines; all stores landed, which made it extremely troublesome.

I found that the family had been very ill, but on the recovery. All the sick belonging to the army, which comprised one-third, were sent to the 12 Mile Creek at this time. The operations of the army, since my departure, were trifling in the extreme. The States fleet made its appearance the day after I left; they landed at Burlington, or rather at the Beech, on the 30th July, with an intention of attacking Burlington, but found we were too well prepared to receive them. They re-imbarked, and landed at York the next day, plundering and burning it, and then returned to Niagara.

#### TRANSACTIONS DURING THE SUMMER—MOSTLY NAVAL.

About the 1st of August, Sir James Yeo made his appearance. The enemy came out, but returned, appearing well inclined to avoid an action. On the 3d and 4th, both fleets were off to the 40 Mile Creek. A fresh breeze springing up in our favour, Sir James Yeo bore down upon them, and fell in with them opposite the 12 Mile Creek. At 10 o'clock he captured two schooners, and another upset—all lost; the rest of the convoy got into harbor. It is thought, if he had pursued them at that time, he would have secured the whole fleet.

Sir George Provost had come up with his suite about the middle of August. Every body suspected that he would attack the Forts, but he merely made a reconnoissance, took a few prisoners, and returned to Kingston.

Colonel Murray had arrived with part of the 100th Regiment. General de Rottenburgh was still at my father's. On his return from Burlington, where he had been inspecting the different posts, he went down to the lines. The prospect was truly discouraging: our army was sickly and dispirited—many deserting—nearly all the Indians had left us. There we were blockading a force three times our numbers, with no hopes of regaining the command of the Lake. I found my troop, as I expected, in a most wretched state;

and had it not been for the very critical state of the army, I would have immediately resigned, but feared I would have been misinterpreted as to my motive. I turned my whole attention to my troop, which improved, horses and every thing else ; in short, my determination, at this time, to obtain justice or leave the service proved of the greatest advantage, as I insisted on obtaining for the men every allowance and indulgence that was extended to the 19th Regulars; new energy was infused—we obtained good horses from the enemy, and discarded bad ones, our knowledge of the country giving us the advantage of intercepting them.

Their success on Lake Erie on 10th Sept. emboldened them here, and we discovered the United States fleet again. Our fleet had brought up a supply of provisions and stores, which were landed at Burlington ; our vessels fell in with the United States fleet off the 40 Mile Creek, consisting of thirteen sail—ours only six ; the Wolf had her fore and mizen-topmast shot away, by which means the whole fleet were obliged to bear away from the head of the Lake. Had the States fleet followed, we must have been taken.

About the same time, General Wilkinson embarked the greater part of his army in boats, for Sackett's Harbour, or rather for Montreal, as he felt certain of taking it before the campaign ended. General de Rottenburg suspected their design, and sent me up to Sir James Yeo, who had repaired his damages, and laid at the head of Lake Ontario. I took an order for him to come down and destroy their boats, if possible. He found it could not be effected without the almost certain destruction of his whole fleet, therefore did not attempt it, but ran into Kingston, where they remained during the campaign, which ended most fortunately for us ; for had Sir James Yeo brought them to an action, we must have lost the whole of our little fleet, from the enemy's great superiority of numbers.

#### EVENTS DURING THE ABSENCE OF THE FORCES DOWN THE ST. LAWRENCE, AND RETREAT OF THE ARMY.

Immediately after the States force went down, General de Rottenburg and suite, with Colonel Harvey, went to Kingston, followed by the 49th and 104th Voltigeurs and Glengary Light Infantry Regiments, who fortunately had a very quick passage. General Vincent was left in command with a part of the 100th Regiment—King's Royals—one company 89th, and one or two companies of Glengaries.



General Scott, then Colonel, had the command of the enemy's force at Fort George, with about 1,000 regulars and some militia. On the 7th, they attacked our out picket on the Swamp Road; we followed them, and drove them to the garrison. On our return they pursued us, and had a lengthy skirmish, with but little loss. Colonel Murray, who commanded the rear guard, behaved in a most gallant manner. From that time forward, I always courted his friendship more than any other officer in the army. The action continued with little intermission, until the evening, when each party withdrew to his lines.

About the beginning of October, my brother-in-law, Mr. Gordon, and his wife, being confident, from appearances the army would retire, left the 12 Mile Creek in a boat for Burlington, with his family; the two children were unwell, and himself by no means recovered from a long fit of illness. They were accompanied by my youngest sister, who had likewise been ill. On making the 40 Mile Creek, they encountered a violent gale of wind, with a heavy sea; on making the shore, they had nearly been all drowned. They got very wet themselves, and all the baggage they brought with them; the invalid was there taken very ill. On my return from the head of the Lake, after being on board our fleet, I met Mr. and Mrs. Gordon on their way up. They desired me to call and see our sister, at A. Nellis, Esq., where she lay. On my arrival her life was despaired of. All the doctors were sent for within reach. I could not possibly remain with her, so returned. My tender mother went up and remained until she recovered; she was as ill as possible without dying—her burial robes were even made.

On the 7th or 8th of October, I obtained two days leave, and went to see her, with Maria (Mrs. Ingersoll), expecting to find her a corpse, but to my great surprise and pleasure, found her much better. On the morning of the 9th, I heard, by Captain Hertchy, that the whole army was on the retreat; he was finding the means of conveyance.

On the 9th, General Vincent heard of Proctor's defeat, and fearing General Harrison would follow up his victory on the Thames, and get possession of Burlington Heights, made a precipitate retreat, by forced marches, to that place. He destroyed many stores, leaving a quantity of flour, part of which fell into the hands of the enemy. The other retreat was bad enough, but nothing compared with this.

I was really astonished, as I had not the least conception of it on my leaving. I rode back as fast as I could, having left the men scattered in all directions, and everything in the greatest confusion imaginable. My father had determined to retreat with

the army. Met our advance guard at the 15 Mile Creek ; had merely time to get home and throw my kit in the baggage wagon, and returned to collect my men.

My father was very ill, and after much persuasion he consented to remain at home. There was no help there to be had, for every thing remained exposed in the house for the first marauding party to plunder, which I was confident would be done. Maria returned and staid with him ; mother and sister at the 40 Mile Creek, more dead than alive ; Caroline, her husband, and two children at Burlington, all sick ; and myself, on the way wherever fortune chose to bear me ; such another scene I hope never to witness again ; there was not a dry cheek to be seen in parting with the good people, as they were confident we must be off, this being the second time.

I left Shipman's at 10 o'clock at night, and marched as far as Cowces' in a heavy rain ; breakfasted at Nellis's with my mother, who was nearly out of her senses ; the invalid Susan, however, was fast recovering ; after making me promise to take care of myself, she gave me her adieus, not expecting to see me again until after the peace. On my arrival at Burlington I was sent to Dundas to take up quarters for the troop, which were the best in that vicinity. I hired a house for Gordon, who came down, and by this means I had a comfortable berth : since the last retreat I had become an old soldier, had no inclination to volunteer on the out pickets, as formerly, as you got no more credit by it, than remaining quiet and making yourself comfortable. After my stay in Dundas, I heard from my father.

The States troops came out the next day under Col Chapin, and behaved very well to him, and all the inhabitants. Other parties, however, were plundering on the mountain in every direction. Col. Scott had embarked for Sacketts Harbor with his men, leaving the command with General McClure, a Militiaman, who, as usual, issued his proclamation to the inhabitants, promising them protection, by which means many remained in false security.

Very shortly after, Wilcox, the traitor, made his appearance. He was made Police Officer, and had the whole management of civil and, I may say, military affairs. General Harrison came down with the army at the latter end of the month. We were now rather more cautious, fearing, after his late success, he would be inclined to attack us at Burlington, which was in a bad state of defence. Wilcox came out occasionally as far as the 40 mile creek, always in the night. We had many a long ride after him to no purpose. We would occasionally take a ride as far as the 40 Mile Creek, to see the ladies, at which attempt we were nearly taken one evening.

About the 10th or 12th of November, I was sent to Fort George, with a flag of truce, and, if possible, to get some information of their strength, and established a correspondence, so that we could hear of their movements weekly or daily, if necessary. On my arrival at the Fort, I heard that my father was made prisoner by Wilcox. I had three or four men with me, took the lake road, wishing, if possible, to get home without detention. I crossed by Patterson's, and got home about 2 o'clock, and frightened the good people out of their senses, fearing I should be taken by Wilcox. He had been there the day before, and taken my father down to the fort. I went on the cross roads and escaped him. He had just passed with his party to the 40 Mile Creek, to make Captain Nellis a prisoner.

I got into Niagara about 9 o'clock, and was conducted, blindfolded, to General Harrison's quarters, supped with him, and was treated with every attention. He sent for my father, who was over the river, having no previous knowledge of his having been taken prisoner, and promised to send him home the next day or two. I left them about 12 o'clock.

In the morning Wilcox had taken Nellis, and returned by the Lake road, by which I avoided him altogether. I forgot all my prudential resolutions, established what I wanted, breathed vengeance, and returned. My horses were all in good condition, so I determined they should not be idle until the traitor Wilcox was kidnapped or out of our reach. I took many a cold, dark ride near the 20 Mile Creek, hoping he would come out. There were parties who regularly gave him information. He had made Mr. Adams prisoner, who accompanied my mother down to see my father. There was no chance of any being liberated.

At the latter end of November, General Vincent had heard a report that our fleet on the Upper Lake had been driven on shore at Point Abino. He wished me to go down and ascertain their position, so that, if possible, they might be destroyed. Captain Elliott and myself, with a dragoon, left Burlington early in the morning, went through to Warner Nellis', Cayuga, on Grand River, that day, the road almost impassible.

We there heard that Markle, Bigger, Grace, young Markle, Doctor Crosby and Dagget, all traitors, had passed by the morning before, to join the enemy. Next morning we went through to Canboro', accompanied by young Nellis; got as far as Parks', on the Chippewa road that night—a long, wet and disagreeable ride; had fallen into one or two creeks on the route; and sent for a friend, James Cummings, to obtain the necessary information. I kept concealed until the messenger returned. I found the report about the vessels false. My intention now was to go down to



the mouth of the creek, and take up a couple of deserters, who had left, a few days before, under an impression we were going to the Lower Province, but hearing the fleet on the Lower Lake had been driven ashore, we rode across the country to ascertain the truth of this information, as it would, if correct, be far more important than the other.

We left Chippewa Bridge at 4 o'clock, stopped at Mr. Streets, found a States soldier—could not make a prisoner of him, as he was not mounted. Markle and party had passed the same day; took a by-road to Hill's, got some information from his sister, passed down the mountain to Lanes'—very dark—lost the road—very near killing the horses in getting down the mountain. We called at Campbell's, and were informed that King Joe was at Dittrick's, with 150 mounted men. We took the two boys and sent them into the house to find out where he was himself, his sentries and horses, while we remained concealed in the meadows. They returned with intelligence of his having left there an hour before.

We were sadly disappointed, as we were determined to have a shot at him. We called at the house a moment, and sent a person on to Shipman's, whilst we remained at the Bridge. If the way had been clear, we intended to have gone home.

We met two persons, who at first took us for States men. They gave us every information, and informed us that the enemy had left Niagara for Burlington, under the command of General McClure, the advance at Shipman's. We found by our messenger that Markle was at Shipman's. We did not think it prudent to attack him, as we heard several shots.

We imagined that their advance party had come up, and if they got the least intelligence, would pursue and undoubtedly overtake us, as our horses were completely used up, and a distance of 40 miles yet to make before we fell in with our advance posts. At Haynes' we fell in with a man who declared himself a true friend of ours, taking us for the enemy. We went on as fast as possible, knowing they would hear of us.

At Honsinger's we overtook a man, dismounted him and took his horse. The dragoon called at Mrs. P. Smith's; her husband was detained at Burlington a prisoner, on suspicion of being a spy. She told our dragoon that four dragoons had passed up a few hours before, on the direct road to Burlington. We were determined to engage them, or rather to give them a shot and pass them; as we had no swords or holsters, our pistols were in our belts, under our coats, which covered our regimentals. Captain Elliot on the left, dragoon in the centre and myself on the right. If hailed, I was to answer in as Yankeified a tone as possible, "Col-

onel Wilcox's troops." As soon as we got abreast, each to take his man in front, and move off as fast as possible.

We expected to meet them at Birch's or Ranchoy's, as those were the places where they usually stopped. On our approaching the latter place, we discovered two dragoons, mounted, before the door. Of course we took them for part of the four—galloped up—halted in front of them—saluted each other with "how d'ye do?" One of them hailed us, and we replied as preconcerted—asking him whether they were British dragoons. He replied in the affirmative. I thought he was deceiving me, as I was him. I gave the signal for firing. My opponent perceiving it, presented his pistol at my breast. I returned the motion, waiting for Elliot to fire, fearing, if I fired first, the other would kill him. The gentleman opposite me, whom I took to be a major, as he was well equipped and mounted, thinking we were too many for him, wheeled to the left and made off. Thinking it was for the intention of joining the others, I made after him, and gave him a shot at about four yards distance. He returned the fire and fell from his horse.

I threw my pistol at him. Hearing the horse ahead, I fired again before I found the horse had no rider. I rode up, caught and mounted him, letting my jaded animal loose. I loaded my remaining pistol, and took my post at the skirt of the wood, awaiting the coming of the other two dragoons, who I imagined were ahead. Captain Elliot fired directly after me, which was returned. He again fired, and shot the horse through the neck, cut off the bridle rein, and then brought the man to the ground, who surrendered.

Elliot rode off and left him, being perfectly content at getting off safe. The dragoon disappeared after the first fire. Elliot and I joined, and prepared for meeting the other two, who we still imagined to be ahead. At the deep hollow, hearing my horse going over the bridge, I thought it was them. We rode by the side of the road, intending to give them a shot when they came up. Finding they did not approach, we rode down and galloped up the hill, trusting to their missing us. We were in continual expectation of the party in our rear, as we had met with so many delays. On our arriving at Doctor Sumner's, we learned that Cornet McKenney and the Sergeant Major had gone down after a prisoner. On examining the bridle of the horse I was on, I found it to be McKenney's. I sent Doctor Bell down immediately, as I was sure he must be either killed or wounded. We rode on as far Lewis's, took an hour's sleep on the floor, and proceeded on to the Stoney Creek, very much dejected in spirits, fearing I had been the death of a particular friend and brave officer.

McKenney and the Sergeant Major had been sent after a man called Force, at Phillip Smith's, who was in the habit of conveying information to the enemy, so we were informed. He heard, before he reached Runcheys, of the approach of the enemy, and was determined to see them before he returned, or get his prisoner. He expected to find them at Runcheys, and was in the act of opening the window when we came up. He had merely time to mount and get to the gate, when we came up and were abreast of him; he very naturally thought that a large party were in the rear, and was endeavoring to make off. My first shot knocked off his cap; on his returning it, his horse made a jump over a stump, and brought him to the ground, quite stunned with the fall. On his getting up he made for the woods. The Sergeant Major made for the same place. After being dismounted, they remained there all night, each running from the other, thinking the enemy were in search. On reaching the 40 Mile Creek the next day, I found out the mistake, which was near having a tragical end. It was really astonishing that neither of us fired when within a yard of each other, our pistols cocked and pointed at each other's hearts; Elliott and the other fired three or four shots without effect.

We expected our army from Burlington to move down and meet General McClure; however, it did not. I returned, and remained quietly at Dundas, thinking our great men had given up the idea of regaining the country.

#### ARMY RETURNS AFTER ONE AND A HALF MONTHS.

There was a large party at Miss Cooley's on the evening of the 1st of December; all the ladies in the place were there. At 12 o'clock we broke up by an order to move without delay to the 40 Mile Creek and join Colonel Murray, who had advanced on hearing of Wilcox's being up. We arrived at the 40 Mile Creek at daybreak; Colonel Murray had been below the 30 Mile Creek. King Joe, with about 250 men had gone a by-road back in the country to Mr. Lyons; I made him and Mr. Cordell prisoners. There was a long debate whether to pursue him or not; if we had, we most certainly should have fallen in with him.

General McClure, who commanded the enemy, advanced to the 20 Mile Creek, stole as many horses as they could, and returned from whence they came. The Commissary being hard run for provisions, the General thought proper to push on the advance and get in as much flour and beef as possible.

On the 7th Colonel Murray advanced, with orders not to proceed with the main body further than the 40 Mile Creek, nor his out-



posts or scouting parties further than the 12 Mile Creek. That night I remained at Lewis's with Captain Hamilton and a few others. I went to the 40 Mile Creek on the morning of the 8th; in the evening I was to proceed to Ball's Mills with a party of men. I was up all night procuring sleighs; it was snowing all the time; I could not get off till the morning of the 9th. I impressed forty or fifty sleighs, and arrived at Ball's at 9 o'clock; I put pickets on every road. The snow falling prevented any person passing unobserved; I took up every person passing either way. I heard that my father had been taken prisoner by Wilcox, and obtained leave to go home, being very unwell. I prevailed on Captain Martin, who commanded the party, to go on as far as the 12 Mile Creek that night, by which means we could take up every suspicious character, as no person dreamt of the army's returning; my great object was to bring away my father. I always conceived, in persuading him to stay, that I was instrumental in his being carried away a prisoner, from his family, and detained.

#### INCIDENTS BEFORE NIAGARA BURNT.

The horses and sleighs were all in readiness for our expedition, the oxen were sent off with flour—at 9 o'clock we proceeded on, Captain Kirby, McKinney, Ball, and myself, were in advance. George Ball had left home to give us the information of General McClure's retreat, likewise their threatening to burn every house in their power on the approach of our army, which, to our cost, proved not to be an idle threat. At the cross roads, 15 Mile Creek, I awaited the arrival of Captain Martin; here I fell in with one of my dragoons, who had remained behind; and overtook a sleigh that would have frustrated all our plans by giving information, tumbled out the passengers, and made better use of it. I took up a scoundrel of the name of Ferguson, who would not surrender till we brought a party, and were in the act of firing in at the door. Captain Martin coming up, proceeded on to Smith's, surrounded the house, ran in at the front, as Force was opening the back door to make his escape; the poor fellow was frightened out of his senses; he begged of me for old acquaintance to let him go, as he intended leaving the country next morning: I gave him in charge of a sergeant, and rode on. I had not proceeded far when hearing the report of a gun, I sent back, and learned he had been shot. After being placed in the sleigh, he made a leap over the fence, they called on him to stop, without effect; the Sergeant fired, the ball took him in the back of the head, and passed out of his left eye; he was 200 yards distant, and it was a dark night.

Expecting a party of the enemy were at Shipman's Capt. Ball and myself went forward to reconnoitre; after peeping in at the windows, we ventured into the house, but found no person there. We sent to Martin, who came and took up the position, also sent a party along the middle road; another went on to DeCew's, Bacon's, &c.; I went with a third party to my father's, and brought him off, as well as Chisholm; I left my mother and sister by themselves; however, they did not mind it; they had become quite old soldiers as to alarms and disturbances. Captain Martin returned by Holley's; I took my father to Ball's, and proceeded to the 40 Mile Creek, where I informed Colonel Murray of our excursion. I was severely reprimanded—Captain Martin threatened to be broken of his commission for disobedience of orders, the very thing he was guilty of himself the next moment. For I begged of him to advance or the enemy would destroy every house near the 12 Mile Creek. He refused to go beyond the 20 Mile Creek, and sent an order for Martin to remain there until he came down. I returned, very much chagrined, and made an attempt to save what little property I could. I hired three or four sleighs, and went on by the McGregor Road with D. Servos, seven Dragoons, and three Militia lads; I sent three Dragoons to Shipman's to prevent a surprise from that quarter, and young Honsinger over to see all clear; on his giving the signal, I drove over with the sleighs, loaded them, and had them off in a few minutes. They were just out of sight, when the Dragoons from Shipman's came down and informed me that three or four U. States officers had that instant left Shipman's. I imagined a party must be in the rear, or would have cut them off by the lake road. I recrossed the hill, with the intention of assembling as many Militia men as possible, and guarding against all marauding parties at least.

The moment we got back, a flag of truce made its appearance, over the way we had come. I fired a musket to bring it to—I rode over and met it; both the gentlemen were acquainted with my father, a Captain Bennett and Lieut. Frazer, of the States Militia. They had a letter for General Vincent, which I forwarded to Colonel Murray. I detained them until I received his answer. Their object was to ascertain where we lay. They thought of falling in with our advance at the 40 Mile Creek, instead of the 12 Mile Creek. I sent word for the Militia to assemble at Haynes and Clendenning's, and form themselves into a picket. In the interim we dined at my father's, and made ourselves as pleasant as the times allowed. In the evening, we removed to Clendenning's, where they understood the advance of the army was. On receiving Colonel Murray's answer, I dismissed them, and accompanied them as far as my father's, back.



They returned under the impression that the whole army was advancing, and the greater part of it around the 12 Mile Creek; whereas, only a few of the Militia were there, who had hastily assembled. The advance was only at the 20 Mile Creek, which was not to proceed further; nor would it, had the enemy shown the least intention of remaining. I returned to Clendenning's, and took a comfortable bed, with the hopes of having a good sleep for the remainder of the night. This was about 2 o'clock; I was greatly fatigued, having been up three nights; I had just got into a doze, when I received an order to proceed to the Beaver Dams, and get off all the flour in that part of the country. I had twenty men of the 19th, and some of my own, altogether, making quite a formidable party.

Meanwhile I had discovered the town of Niagara to be in a blaze of fire; I was rejoiced at the sight, as it was an omen of the sudden departure of the enemy. I expected to have met a party near Bacon's. I got together a number of sleighs, and sent off all the flour to Ball's Mills. I found a quantity in New Holland that was on its way to the States people. On my return to the Beaver Dams, I took up young Force, who had escaped from a party of ours the night before, and had joined the States people: finding they were leaving the country he was making back; from him I learned that they were leaving the town.

On reaching Shipman's I was very much surprised to meet Colonel Murray, with the advance. On hearing of their burning the town, he was determined to attack their Fort Niagara that night. After refreshing ourselves at my father's, and resting the men, we moved on, it being near 9 o'clock in the evening. The Provincial Dragoons were one mile in advance. We procured all the axes on the different roads, to cut down the pickets of the Fort if necessary. We called at Thompson's and McNab's, and found the enemy had abandoned the town, and the inhabitants in the utmost distress. At the Rev. Robert Addison's we awaited the arrival of Colonel Murray, who came on with part of the 19th Light Dragoons. With those he advanced to near the environs, and thence proceeded on to see that all was clear. Nothing but heaps of coals, and the streets full of furniture that the inhabitants were fortunate enough to get out of their houses, met the eye in all directions. Mr. Gordon's house, my old quarters, was the only one standing. Having made a few prisoners, we proceeded very cautiously on to the Garrison, which was abandoned—many tents were left standing—the barrack and wood work nearly consumed. We were very apprehensive that a mine was left for our destruction; a musket cartridge burst upon our ascending the cavalier bastion: each took it for a match to a concealed mine, and gave our-



selves up for a rise in the air. Fortunately, our fears happened to be groundless. On our return to town we separated, Col. Murray went up the Swamp Road to quarter the troops at the 4 Mile Creek; the 19th went to Queenston; I returned with two or three to the Rev. Mr. Addison's, almost famished with cold and hunger. Not wishing to disturb the family, I went to Mr. Whitmore's, got a very good supper, and for the remainder of the night, a very good sleep. In the morning I went to Queenston, the 100th grenadiers guarding the Fort. On the 12th the whole army were on the move from Burlington Heights. The General, Staff, and a Captain proceeded on to Fort Erie, and made some prisoners; they very nearly took the two McIntoshes, who had deserted from me, and now wished to return.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR TAKING FORT NIAGARA.

I was busily occupied in impressing teams to get down two or three boats, as Colonel Murray was determined to attack Fort Niagara, as soon as boats for his men could be procured. Tuesday and Wednesday employed about the same business. I was sent over with a flag to Lewiston, in a common punt the States men had made; and I was, with Mrs. Nellis, near being swamped in a whirlpool. Captain Bennett, whom I had before seen at the 12 Mile Creek, commanded that post; here I met with Adams, Lyons, Nellis, and Cordell, who were detained as prisoners. I gave them a caution, to look out and ascertain the strength and position of the enemy, with their means of defence. On my return, gave in my report; I got two boats to the bank; Generals Drummond and Riall, and Colonel Harvey, &c. arriving from Kingston, very prudently postponed the attack until boats arrived from Burlington. Captain Kirby was despatched for them, and brought them down to the 4 Mile Creek.

At 12 o'clock on Thursday, teams were procured and the boats brought to Wilson's, the place of embarkation. Some unforeseen difficulty prevented our crossing, although the troops were on the spot every night, deprived of their rest. This evening I was taken very ill from over exertion; I was to have crossed with Colonel Murray; I came down, but I could with great difficulty keep my legs; the next day I was taken home by my father in a sleigh; I had taken a severe cold from fatigue and want of rest; I was so much interested in forwarding the attack, that I was eight nights quite deprived of sleep, in getting down boats, and other necessities that would be required.

On Saturday night they crossed over, and were crowned with success. This was another of my most unfortunate military events,

as I had been employed in all the other movements, and honorably mentioned, and now deprived of sharing in the most glorious affair that happened in the Upper Province. Captain Kirby was particularly and deservedly mentioned in the public despatches. Colonel Murray, however, entitled me and my troop to a share in the prize money of the place, for our services. A few days after, Captain Leonard's family came to my father's, where they remained for two or three weeks. I recovered enough to walk out occasionally. During my confinement Buffalo was taken and burned, in retaliation for the destruction of Niagara. General Riall commanded the expedition over the river. They crossed in the evening and took possession of Conejohacty Bridge—made a few prisoners, and kept possession until the morning, although they were attacked two or three times during the night.

In the morning General Drummond ordered the Royals to cross above the batteries at Black Rock, in boats manned by the militia; owing to the rapid current, the boats were drifted down in front of the batteries; a great proportion were killed or wounded, and had not General Riall advanced to their support, they would have been all destroyed. After a short contest, he routed the enemy, who made a short but spirited resistance; he took possession of Buffalo and burnt it.

As usual, the failure of the boats to land above the batteries, which was impossible, was laid to the militia by General Drummond, to throw off the blame from his own shoulders, or rather, Colonel Harvey, who advised the attack. It was a cruel accusation, as no men could have behaved better than the few in action that day. The error lay in not marching up by land, after the capture of Niagara, when all the stores and village would have fallen into our hands with little or no loss. A small party went as far as Schlosser, and returned after burning a few houses. In my humble opinion, it would have been far more honorable and magnanimous had we gone and returned, without doing the least injury to the inhabitants.

Shortly after, General Drummond came down to St. Davids. General Vincent had left Burlington for Kingston shortly after the capture of Fort Niagara, with the satisfaction of seeing the country rid of all its enemies, and in a much better state of defence than when he assumed the command. Cornet McKenny was sent down to Quebec with his prisoner, Col. Chapin. Capt. Leonard had a few days leave to remain at my father's, then with his family, and was sent down under charge of Lieut. Ingersoll, on the 1st of January. He had commanded the Garrison of Fort Niagara previous to our capture of it. During the late occurrences, I was confined to my room. Thus ended the campaign of 1813.

## CAMPAIGN OF 1814, &c.

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### ARMY IN WINTER QUARTERS.

After my recovery, I went to Queenston, and found the horses and men in sad disorder; they had been totally neglected of late. As there was no immediate occasion for their services, I obtained leave to put them in winter quarters at Shipman's, at the 12 Mile Creek. I returned to my father's and stayed until the middle of January, and spent my time very pleasantly with Miss Leonard and a few other ladies. On the 15th, I obtained leave to accompany them and Mrs. W. Smith across the river; we went up in waggons, and had a pleasant excursion; on going over the river, not a soul was to be seen for a length of time. I took an affecting leave of my aunt and my cousin, and returned home.

I exchanged my quarters to Chisholm's, to be near the men; I rode to headquarters at Roreback's once a week; otherwise, I had nothing to do but to attend to the men. In the interim, we remained at the 12 Mile Creek until the middle of May.

I spent the winter as pleasantly as possible, often having a dance at Shipman's, and at my father's, card parties, &c. I soon got the horses in excellent condition. Ingersoll and McKenny returned from Quebec at the end of February. I recruited several more men, and found horses, which was the means of my having twelve or fourteen of my own in the troop, exclusive of my three chargers.

The officers of the 41st, who had been confined at Chilicothi, came into Fort George or Niagara on parole. Intelligence was received of the States people assembling a large force at Buffalo, for an attack, meditated in a few days—we thought they would make the attack in Lower Canada.

General Wilkinson, with 4000 men, at Plattsburgh, had attacked Col. Williams on the La Colle, in the Lower Province, and was repulsed most gallantly, with great loss. This was on the 30th of March. And when the renewal of military operations commenced, the greatest activity prevailed during the spring, in repairing Forts George and Niagara, and building Fort Missaqua or Fort Riall, so named after the gallant General. This fort completely



commands the entrance of the Niagara river. So long as we keep the lake, the enemy could only have a temporary possession of some part of the frontier. Every person now turned out with more zeal and confidence than at any former period.

Hitherto, they fought under the impression of eventually losing the country; although we had now but few regular troops, we were certain they would shortly be sent us, as Napoleon had abdicated, and our forces in Europe were at liberty. Our gallant fleet had taken and destroyed Oswego, and many stores there had furnished us with a seasonable supply of provisions. A general movement of the troops took place, and the militia were in readiness to march at a moment's notice.

Our forces altogether consisted of about 1500 regulars, exclusive of artillery, dragoons, &c. to garrison the forts, and take the field. Colonel Pearson commanded the Light Brigade at and above Chippewa. I was ordered to Fort George; and got stables up and the men comfortably quartered; as usual, my quarters were at Gordon's. On the 1st of June I sent McKenny up to Long Point and Burlington, to relieve Lient. Ingersoll, who had been sent up some weeks before with a party of sixteen men, as it was expected the enemy would make an attack at that place, and penetrate if possible, to Burlington, as they had the entire command of the upper lake, and shipping to transport what troops they pleased.

#### BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA AND ANTECEDENT EVENTS.

On the 3d of July I attained my 21st year; I had invited a number of my friends at the 12 Mile Creek to celebrate it; went home and had a good dinner prepared, and had waited until the hour of four—and no guests arriving, we were just sitting down to dinner, to eat it ourselves, when a dragoon arrived with the news of the enemy having landed at Fort Erie the night before.

I returned to Fort George as soon as possible. All the troops that could be spared were marched up to Chippewa, with General Riall. His intention was to defend that post as long as possible. The enemy landed under the command of Generals Brown and Scott, and surrounded Fort Erie. It was defended or garrisoned by 140 men, under the command of Major Buck, of the 8th regiment. On the 4th, they pushed on to Chippewa, skirmishing with our light troops, without much effect on either side. We returned within our intrenchments on the left bank of the Chippewa Creek, where part of two regiments of militia had hastily assembled. I went up in the afternoon, with the intention of remain-

ing, and was sent on to Colonel Stewart, who commanded at Fort George.

The General expected a joint attack to be made by their fleet on the lake shore. On the morning of the 5th we sent the 1st regiment of militia back to Queenston. The enemy had been very quiet in the forenoon, in their camp—parties of ours had been all round them. General Riall thought their main force had not come up, or their numbers not so great as was reported, as their scouting parties diminished their numbers greatly. Three hundred of the King's arriving, he was induced to march out and give them battle at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The Indians under Captain Norton were to commence the attack on our right, in the wood, supported by the militia and the light companies of the 100th King's and Royals; the 100th were to attack the main body in front, on the plain. King's in reserve, artillery on our left, Major Leslie's troop of 19th light dragoons covering them. The Indians, under Norton, took too long a circuit and got nearly in the rear of the United States camp, consequently did not get into action until it was over.

About seventy of the Western Indians, under Captain Colvin, led the advance in the wood. The enemy were all covered, ready to receive them—let them advance till they were very nearly surrounded, when they opened a disastrous fire. The Indians lost one Sachem the first volley. They immediately gave way, and could not be rallied during the engagement. The militia came up and sustained a fire from at least 800 men for fifteen minutes, when they retreated, suffering a very serious loss. The men went into the field under Colonel Dixon, Captains Grant, Rowe, Turney, and Lieut. McDonald, commanding a company each. The Colonel was wounded, and his horse shot in two places; the three latter were killed—the action had commenced on the left, and was disputed with the greatest obstinacy for sometime. Our right being driven in, the enemy were nearly getting in our rear; however, the light company coming up to the assistance of the militia, they rallied, and in their turn drove back the States troops, which gave our left an opportunity of returning unmolested. More than half our men were killed or wounded. Out of fourteen officers, the 100th had only three unhurt. Had they pursued us, our small army must have been annihilated. Our loss was very great, as was that of the States people; allowing for the very great disparity of numbers engaged, their loss was greater than our own, although we candidly confessed we were beaten, without prevarication; which was not usually the case with the States people in the like situation.

It certainly is a very delicate thing to censure a commanding officer, particularly, one so popular and brave as General Riall; still, in this case, he acted hastily, neither did he employ all the means in his power. He sent away the 1st regiment of militia in the morning, who were the best flankers in the country. The 103rd regiment were laying at Burlington, 800 strong, which could have been down in two days. There were, likewise, all the militia of the country, which, when assembled, would have ensured success. Had they attacked us in the intrenchments, they would have fought to a very great disadvantage. I came up in the evening after the action, with a party of the troop; the men were obliged to lie out all night—every house being filled with the wounded. I stopped at Street's, and spent a very unpleasant night; many officers were lying wounded, groaning with pain. Such was the result of the battle of Chippewa.

In the morning, sent in a flag for the bodies of the officers killed, particularly for the militia; as it would be a great satisfaction for the relatives of the deceased to have them properly interred. They were refused. On the 7th every preparation was made for a retreat to Fort George; on seeing which the Indians made off. This, with the return home of some of the militia, diminished our force so much, that our position could not be maintained without the risk of another action, which would ruin us.

Early in the morning I rode over to my father's, and had the most valuable things removed to Burlington, as I was confident our army would retire to the forts, which would leave the country completely exposed to the enemy. On my return, met the Indians, who were robbing the farm yards. In passing Mr. Crook's, two of them had broken into and plundered his store; got Wilkinson's assistance, and retook the goods after a hard struggle with the thieves. On my return found Mr. Ingersoll had come up; at 3 o'clock the enemy opened a battery near the mouth of Lyon's Creek, and launched a few boats; had they succeeded, our retreat would have been cut off. The incorporated militia just arrived and formed in the road till the army passed on their way to the Falls, bringing everything away from Chippewa. Captain Hamilton and myself remained at Mrs. Wilson's till they had all come over.

A party of dragoons were sent on to Colonel Clark's, which retired on our approaching towards them. In the evening we followed the army on to Fort George, Niagara. Our rear guard was left on the mountain for the night. The next morning I was sent to the 12 Mile Creek with twelve or fifteen dragoons, with directions to remain in the rear of the enemy and watch their movements. It was not certain at this time whether their object



was Burlington, or to besiege the forts; in either case, I was to retire to Burlington, after making a communication with Ft. George.

On the morning of the 9th I assembled my small party at the 12 Mile Creek. My father had been sometime at Burlington, having sent away all the stock of the farm; my sister went with him, leaving my mother and Susan at home; my mother could not be prevailed upon to leave the house.

All the militia, excepting a few on the Chippewa road, retired to Burlington, drawing away their effects and stock, and leaving their families totally unprotected. The country never was more destitute than at this time. The States army advanced to Queens-ton, occasionally sending parties down the swamp road, and back into the country as far as Wilkinson's, Hall's and Collards. I kept up a communication with the forts, and a party at the Beaver Dams, occasionally advancing near Saint Davids, sometimes sleeping at one place, then at another, keeping a good lookout for fear of a surprise. On the 11th I went into Fort George to apply for a larger party. I was detained there two days, then sent to Burlington to order down Colonel Scott, who had assembled all the militia of the country, Indians, &c. I returned the next morning—was four and a half hours going, and five hours returning, the same day.

General Riall marched up to the 20 Mile Creek, with a party of the King's and Royals, and was there met by Colonel Scott, with 500 of the 103d, 600 militia, and 500 Indians. After a good night's sleep, I followed him next morning, Cornet McKenny came down with the greater part of the men. We were stationed in advance at Joseph Smith's—a party of militia under Adjutant Foster kept a lookout at Goring's. The first militia advanced to the 12 Mile Creek; after that I remained the greater part of my time at the 12; my principal object was attained, getting a party in advance of the 12 Mile Creek.

The enemies marauding parties had not ventured that far yet, for hearing a party was there, they probably imagined it would be of some force, so far in advance of Burlington. Part of the Glengarrys arrived under Capt. Fitzgibbon, formerly of the 49th, who had so gallantly distinguished himself heretofore. On the 15th, the first regiment of militia were stationed at the 10 Mile Creek; Brown's the 4th at Hutt's; other two at the Beaver Dams. The militia was daily skirmishing and driving in States' parties, who were plundering every house they could get at: they even plundered women of everything they had. The two last wag-gons were taken by young Ball, with a party who were carrying off soft soap, after clearing the house of everything. The bewildered families were obliged to leave their homes, and place themselves under the protection of the army.

## A PARTY OF 30 VOLUNTEER TO RECONNOITRE THE ENEMY.

On the 15th our advance was stationed at Page's. On the 16th in the morning we had a smart skirmish, made a Cornet of their dragoons prisoner. In the evening our party was ambushed on the hill next Saint Davids. We received two rounds from near 200 of the enemy, within pistol shot; only one wounded, and one taken, young Woodruff and Thompson. On the 17th a large party came out and burned the village of Saint Davids, where the Woodruffs and Secords lived. They plundered it of everything they could carry away. On the 19th about 30 of the most robust and determined men in the militia, nine of whom were officers, volunteered under Captain Fitzgibbon, as a corps of observation, to hang on the skirts of the enemy and annoy them by every possible means.

On the morning of the 20th we left the 12 Mile Creek for St. Davids; the day before the enemy had moved the army on to Wilson's and McFarland's, near Fort George, as we suspected, with the intention of attacking it. We took possession of Queenston; the militia had been in and made a few prisoners early in the morning. The 1st and 2d regiments came down and sent word to General Riall acquainting him of the movements, thinking he would proceed to the mountain, the best position in the country. The swamp on our left, the river on our right, the fort in our front, the army in the rear. However, instead of its being occupied, the militia were recalled. Our party remained in Queenston during the night. Capt. Hamilton Brigham and myself went down to reconnoitre as far as Camp's; we fell in with their advance picket, and returned, keeping a good lookout during the night: on the morning of the 22d nine of us breakfasted at Smith's. A party of dragoons advanced while we were at breakfast, which put us to the route, and we made for the mountain as quickly as possible. Our sentries stopped too long to fire at the dragoons, and were all taken prisoners. Captain Hamilton was surprised on the hill by a party of the dragoons, and was nearly overtaken, when we ran down and gave them a volley, which checked the pursuit.

Powers, McGregor, and McCracken were in the advance, near Durham's; the dragoons had come upon them unawares; McCracken jumped down the bank, and lay concealed until the States army had passed within a few feet of him. The others made for the woods, half a mile off, the dragoons after them; McGregor first gained the fence, but instead of leaping it, turned round and fired

at the enemy, who stopped, by which means they all escaped. The States army made for Queenston, with an intention of driving us from our position. We gave them a few rounds, and they retired behind the stone buildings until the whole army came up, when they sent a party of riflemen round by Saint Davids for the purpose of cutting us off. On perceiving this we retired to the brow of the mountain to gain Saint Davids before them if possible. I rode to Rose's, and sent an express for Major Secord to join us at that place. I gave my horse to Captain Hamilton, who had just recovered from a very severe fit of illness.

On our approaching Saint Davids, we heard irregular firing; Lient. Montgomery of the 103d and myself rode on to give our men intelligence of our approach, and to maintain the ground if possible. We rode across the field on the right of the creek, and mistook the States troops, who had made a rapid march, for our own militia; we galloped up to within fifty yards of them, before I discovered the mistake. A few militia in our rear gave a shout and ran up to our support in a most gallant and handsome style; we wheeled to the left and right, and took opposite directions, which diverted their fire, and by good fortune we escaped, although we received the fire of at least 200 men. At the first discharge my horse fell in a hollow; I was about leaving him, thinking he was shot; he fortunately jumped up and bore me off with not a little speed; on gaining the ruins of the village of Saint Davids Captain Fitzgibbon joined us. We kept the village about two hours, and finding they were not disposed to advance, we retired to the woods and formed an ambush, thinking they would follow us. Captain Thompson with about 12 men was on our right flank.

Colonel Davis came round the mountain with 150 men, chiefly mounted, with a design of getting in our rear; we gave them a few shots, and killed a few horses, and routed them from their position; altering their course, they went down to the village, where, had we remained, we should have been surrounded. Directly after we received an order from Colonel Perry to return to the 10 Mile Creek. Captain Thompson joined us, and came on as far as Collard's, where he remained to dine, in company with his brother, Ensign of the 8th, Lieuts. Ryley, Simonds, Warren, and McCasley, of the militia: not dreaming of any danger, they were surprised by a party of 200 or 300 hundred men under the command of Colonel Wilcox. They came round by the mountain, got up and surrounded the house before they were perceived. Thompson, Simonds. and McCasley ran up stairs with their muskets and fired out of the window, killing a dragoon, and wounding several horses. They refused to surrender, until Capt. Harri-



son of the enemy's dragoons came and offered them quarter; they were abused and insulted in a most barbarous manner after being made prisoners. Wilcox and his party then made a hasty retreat after destroying the good man's house in the most wanton manner.

We assembled our party at John Bessey's in the evening, which was reduced in numbers in one day to 11; the best of our men were prisoners. We were all disposed to give up the adventure, and return to our respective corps, but fearing they would laugh and ridicule our adventure, we determined on another excursion the following day. On the morning of the 23d McKenny joined me. We took the road by Mrs. Tice's on reaching Robinson's: sent back our horses and went over to McMickin's—sent a scout by the road to inform the women we were near, and give us information of the approach of the enemy. Shortly after, a boy came and informed us that several riflemen were plundering Alexander's house. We ran over to the road, observing a few more of the enemy advancing by the same route; ran round the wheat field, and got opposite the church, when another boy came to tell us of the arrival of thirty dragoons. We took him with us for fear of suspicion, and came round opposite Birch's, abreast of them, giving a whoop and volley at the same time; they broke, some running up and others down the road, dropping two or three fine sheep they had just stolen. The women sallied out, begging us to return, which we shortly did, as our numbers were too small to remain.

We got a feed at Corwen's, went a new road back to Ball's, fell in with a few boys, and had some sport on the way. Next morning we returned to headquarters with my father, who had sent for me to suppress a row with the men. I made out the muster rolls for the month, and was about returning, when Col. Drummond of the 104th regiment arrived from Kingston, and requested me to join him in a similar excursion, which I did, and promised myself it should be the last I would ever volunteer. In the afternoon we received intelligence of the enemy having prepared to leave Queenston.

#### BATTLE OF LUNDYS LANE.

The army was put in motion at 8 o'clock, and I arrived with part of my troop at Lundy's lane at 3 o'clock on the morning of July 25, 1814. Colonel Pierson with the light brigade arriving shortly after, we proceeded on as far as Bridgewater. A few dragoons were sent on as far as the Falls, to reconnoitre the camp at Chippewa. At 8 o'clock we fell back on Lundy's lane, leaving

an advanced picket at Mrs. Wilson's; but at 5 o'clock the enemy was observed advancing; shortly after they drove in our advance pickets. The militia and light brigade were ordered to retreat, as the main army were several miles in the rear of Queenston and Saint Davids. General Drummond arriving, ordered them back and made disposition for giving battle; the Glengarrys and incorporated militia, 700 strong received the first fire in the woods, two hundred yards in advance; two six pounders were placed near the church on an eminence. The 8th regiment, 500 strong, with a detachment of the 1st Royal Scots that moment arrived and were placed in the rear of the guns. My men on the right, with orders to join the 19th on the left, in the Queenston road. The enemy, on approaching the field, filed off to the right and left, exposed to the fire of the two field pieces, which did but little execution. Amidst a galling fire from the Glengarrys and militia, the enemy advanced up to the guns almost unperceived, when a most gallant resistance was made by our men. The artillerymen were exposed to both our fire and that of the enemy; at length they were under the necessity of leaving their guns, which for a moment were in possession of the enemy. The dragoons on the left, under Major Lisle, retreated as far as Muddy Run, one and a half miles. The enemy's right outflanked us; and a company, shortly followed by a regiment, got possession of the road between the dragoons and the line in front. Major General Riall, receiving a severe wound in the shoulder, was taken returning by the road with Captain Loring, aid de camp to General Drummond, and many other officers. At this time it was getting dark, so that it was impossible to discover friends from enemies at twenty yards distance.

The first regiment of militia under Major Robinson coming up at this moment, made a disposition of charging, in hopes of retaking Major General Riall; the militia flanking him on the left, I was sent to communicate his intention to the troops on the hill to our right. On my return to join my troop, I went rather too much to the right, falling in with the enemy's 28th regiment. It was impossible to make an escape, as I was completely surrounded; a few moments after firing commenced from our men on the hill. Captain Clarke was taken prisoner nearly at the same time. I was taken prisoner by six fellows who were skulking from the fire, which then raged with great fury.

This put an end to my expeditions and observations of what was proceeding in our military arrangement. My favorite horse, Hyder Ally, was also taken; on passing Forsyth's on my way to captivity, I heard the fire renewed, as the 10th had just arrived, who drove the enemy completely off the field, leaving us victors. Troops never could have behaved with greater coolness and bra-

very than ours. They fought against five times their numbers; The greater part of the army was six miles in the rear when the action commenced.

We were sent that night over to Schlosser, 14 in number, prisoners. Major General Rial, wounded, Captains Loring, McLean, Nellis, Gore, Washbourne, Lieuts. Youle, Frazer, Robins, Warffe, Quartermasters Linn and Cairns, Ensign Kilborne, and Capt. W. H. Merritt, of the dragoons.

Here we were joined in the morning by Captain Brown, Lieut. Cline and Lamont, Ensigns Lever and Montgomery, who were taken in the last part of the action; making in all, 19 officers, and 116 privates, taken prisoners. The greater part of the officers were taken by mistaking the enemy for friends, in consequence of the darkness of the night. We were kept out all night around a fire; tents could not be provided until the morning. We were all very much fatigued; many had been for several nights without sleep. We were marched under a strong escort to Buffalo, twenty-four miles, so that on our arrival, we were completely worn out. The officer who had charge of us I cannot speak much in favor of. We were sent to Pomeroy's Inn, where we procured a good supper for the first time, and took a very comfortable nap on the tables.



## From my Memorandum Book while a Prisoner in the States.

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July 27th. After breakfast we were marched to Major Miller's tavern, two miles distant from Buffalo, where we had good fare; I saw my uncle William this morning, who was then residing here. Colonel Chapin was very attentive; I wrote from hence for my baggage to be sent over. We were here paroled for Greenbush; our guard was consequently dismissed.

28th. We left at 10 o'clock with three waggons, for our place of destination; I saw Fuller. At 2 P. M. passed 4 Mile Creek, where we purchased some necessaries. Our company consisted of myself, Captains McLean, Nellis and Washbourne, and Lieut. Warffe, with one servant; passed the prisoners under guard; a few slept at the inn; left this place at 6 o'clock in the morning; arrived at Batavia at 9 where we spent the day, in order to procure some essentials, and get our linen washed, which was in a dirty state, we having had no change for a week—marching and sleeping in the dust and dirt. Here we fell in with Captains Grant, Thomson, Birch, and Bowman, Lieuts. Brooks, Riley, and Carley, Ensign Thomson of the 8th, and Warren of the militia; five of them were taken a few days before us, by Wilcox, the traitor; the others were taken from their houses, contrary to a proclamation issued by Major General Brown, of United States Army. Batavia is a small village, with an arsenal and court house, fronting each other.

30th. Having breakfasted, we moved on to Ganson's—made a short stay, saw Postel, one of my deserters, and many others from different regiments. I also met with Belden at this place; made a short call at Smith's tavern, then passed the Genesee River—remained a short time at the Inn, where we fell in with a brother of General Wadsworth's, who had the appearance of a complete gentleman. At our next stopping place we had an excellent supper, and very good accommodations.

31st. Passed Lyman's—saw Mrs Leonard, (who had been at my father's after the capture of Niagara, her husband being a prisoner) at Belden's, where I remained a few minutes to chat—walked two miles, and then breakfasted, when the landlady en-

tertained us with politics during our meal; she was a perfect—mazon. At 12 o'clock we reached Canandaigua; this is a beautiful place, surpassing anything we had seen on the road—a fine lake on the right; here we halted for a short time. I was overtaken on the route, about ten miles further on, by John Hind, my old school fellow, who had heard of my passing, and followed on after me; he is a clerk in the bank, and alien to the States. On our route to Geneva we stopped at the half-way house, then pushed on, arriving at Geneva about 8 o'clock in the evening; we put up at Church's Inn on the side of the lake. This is a growing and handsome village.

August 1st. I took the stage with McLean and Washbourne; we passed through a rough country; crossed Cayuga Bridge at 10 o'clock, where we changed horses, and not before they were wanted. Captain Bennet not at home; he afterwards wrote to me. Passed Auburn at 1 o'clock, a vast number of people assembled to see us. Arrived at Skeneatlas; fell in with Dr. Calvin, who was very attentive, remained with him the whole of the day, and spent a very pleasant evening.

2d. The waggon came up at 10 o'clock, we resumed our seats, moved to Onondaga Hollow; dined, and part of us proceeded to Manlius.

3d. Took the stage, thirteen in number, by the Cherry Valley Turnpike; passed Cazonovia at 9 o'clock, changed horses. Dined at Litchfield, changed horses; at Martin's Inn met with Dr. John Prendergast; remained with him till the 5th, received every attention from him and family; visited Litchfield Spring.

5th. Took the stage at 5 o'clock in the evening; took up my servant at Dr. Nash's, where he had been remaining, sick, and proceeded to Richardson's Stage House in Litchfield, in company with young Kimble. Breakfasted at Cherry Valley, met with an old man who used to live near Dr. Muirhead, Niagara; heard of old Gisso; passed from thence over a beautiful country; made a short halt at Schoharrie—fine covered bridge—fresh horses, and proceeded to Albany, where we arrived at 5 o'clock, P. M. Last stage drove too fast, carriage came near breaking down.

7th. Visited the museum, reading room, public gardens, and every public place; went to church.

8th. Drew a bill on George Platt, Esq. of Montreal, in favor Dudley Welch & Co., of Albany, for £50. Met with Dr. Prendergast by accident, supped with him, (afterwards my father-in-law;) called on General Burbeck.

9th. Met with Martin; called on Mr. Church; got some clothes and toggery.

10th. Met with some friends; put up at Candy's Connecticut Coffee House; very bad accommodations; part of our company went to Cheshire, our place of destination, forty miles east of Albany, and situated between hills.

11th. Captain Loring arrived—got some money and a note from my father. Dr. Prendergast left Albany for Lansingburg in the afternoon; met with Dr. Douglas in the evening, whom I had seen before in Niagara; had twenty dollars stolen from me by some miscreant; paid all my bills, and arranged for a move in the morning to Cheshire.

12th. Left Albany at 4 o'clock in the morning with four officers and five other passengers; crossed the ferry, proceeded through Green Bush, breakfasted and changed horses; passed Lebanon at 11 o'clock; visited the springs, walked up the hill, a most charming prospect. There is a curious sect here called the Shaking Quakers, who never marry. Arrived at Pittsfield at 2 o'clock in the afternoon; called on Major Mellville, agent for prisoners; gave in our paroles, signed new ones for Cheshire, dined, and were conveyed to our place of destination in light waggons. On our arrival reported ourselves to Captain Brown; met our old friends; put up at Wallcut's Inn.

13th. Removed to Mr. Green's, where I slept, but had my meals at the Inn; my servant, whom I had left at the doctor's in Albany, arrived in the evening.

14th. Part of our company went to church, heard a Baptist minister preach; his discourse was on everything; could not comprehend his meaning; an abundance of fine girls there.

15th. Spent the day reading and playing cricket, which is the principal diversion we have; had half and hour's chat with Miss Brown; the remainder of the officers arrived to-day.

16th. Mr. Campbell moving his quarters, thus leaving an empty bed, which I occupied, in the same room with Major Burke; nothing new.

18th. Hired a horse and took a ride with Dr. Roper round the country, which is very rough and hilly; it is, nevertheless, fertile; they make a great quantity of cheese here. Captain Thompson arrived from Schenectady, where he was taken ill, on a visit; he brought a Montreal paper containing an account of the action of the 25th at Lundy's Lane.

19th. Received news by a Buffalo handbill, of our having made an unsuccessful attempt on Fort Erie, with the loss of 500 killed and wounded, and 300 taken prisoners.

19th. Received the British official statement of the action on the 25th at Lundy's Lane, extracted from the Montreal Gazette



reported ourselves to Captain Brown as usual. Captain James of the United States army is agent for the prisoners; he arrived from Pittsfield, took an account of our travelling expenses, and dined with us; heavy rains, which we have had the greater part of the time; wrote to my father (via) Buffalo, enclosing the letter to Major Camp; wrote Drs. Colvin, Strange, and Mahan, all enclosed to Maj. Melville, to forward to Wm. Merritt. No church this Sunday; visited our friends; in the evening a number of ladies assembled at the house to hear Mr. Warren play the flute; their Sunday commences on Saturday evening, and closes Sunday evening. We were distributed at the different houses as follows:

At Walcot's, Cheshire village—Major Buck of the 8th, Capt. Thompson, Capt. Kerr, Indian Department, Capt. Grant, Dr. Roper, Ensign Mills, Quartermaster Kerr, 8th, Captain W. H. Merritt, dragoons, Lieut. Vinecourt, marine artillery, [at Green's] dines with us; each paying five dollars a week for board and washing, and two dollars each servant.

At Hall's—they have excellent accommodations—Capt. Dawson, Lieut. Humphreys, Lieut. Maxwell of the 100th, Capt. Nellis, Lieut. Rowe, R. N., Lieut. Brown, and Midshipman Padmore, R. N.

At Brown's—Captain Brown, 103d, Capt. Gore, 89th, Lieut. Lamont, 1st Royal, and Lieut. Jewell.

At Barclay's—Capt. Lander, Provincial Navy, Capt. McLean, militia, Capt. Washbourne, Ensign Waiffe, Ensign Kemble, Lieut. Robins, Lieut. Simmons, and Quartermaster Frazer, 41st.

Lieut. Frazer, Royal Scots, and Lieut. Cline live at a house over the meadow, half a mile off.

Mr. Rowe, Capt. Spilsberry, and Lieut. Majoribanks, R. N., at Brown's, two miles off.

At Brown's—Lieut. Carnell, 100th, Lieut. Montgomery, 103d, and Lieut. Liner.

Captains Birch, Brooks, Alexander, Rose, Bowman, Hardison, Thompson, Lieuts. McCarty and Riley, and young Bowman, Captain Popham, R. N. and Captain Lorin, aid-de-camp to Gen. Drummond. Total 46, in and about the village of Cheshire.

The village consists of eight or ten houses, on the left of the road; the church stands opposite on the right, where we have a green plain for playing cricket; we are occasionally joined in this amusement of the afternoon by the gentlemen in the country.

22d. Rose at 6 o'clock; took a long walk with Captains Brown and Landon to the new glass house, mills, &c.; got a new pair of quoits, as the greater part amuse themselves with this game:

some fishing in a beautiful clear brook that runs by the place; finished reading the life of Nelson; "campaign in Russia" next read; taking an occasional peep into Ossian's Poems, "the Wild Irish Girl," and many more miscellaneous books. Wrote Mahan another note for books, &c. by Mr Brown; Capt. Spilsberry walked to Pittsfield and back; no hopes of an exchange of prisoners until the middle of October weather cold.

23d. A charming day; same return as formerly; playing quoits, reading, &c.; finished Porter's narrative of the campaign in Russia, which is certainly worth the perusal, the account of the action of Borodino in particular, exceeds anything I ever read.

24th. Wrote to uncle William; heard a funeral sermon by Elder Miles, on the death of a child; fine weather; received the Albany papers; nothing new; extracts from private letters mention our unsuccessful attack on Fort Erie, with the loss of 1000 men altogether, and Colonel Drummond of the 104th regiment; received boots, leggins, &c. from Mr. Mahan, of Albany; rain in the afternoon; Navy officers spent the evening with us.

25th. Pleasant weather; one month since I was made a prisoner; a long time it appears to me; read the newspapers, strolled, returned and enjoyed a good dinner.

26th. Took a long walk on the mountain; Capt. Loring arrived from Albany; cricket in the afternoon; received Albany papers containing General Gaines' report of the assault on Fort Erie; sad news for us; called upon Captain Brown as usual; Major Melville's clerk came up on business; wrote to Major Neil; sent to Albany for a pair of boots, received them by Wm. Grace; enclosed a ten dollar bill for payment of them; a suspicious fellow by the name of Holland came here to-day, saying he was a British Spy, and applied to us for some money, particularly to Captain Loring, whom he had seen in Pittsfield; no attention was paid to him by us.

27. In the morning Major Melville's clerk came up to see us, and informed us of this fellow; Major Melville came and took him to Pittsfield; Captain Thomas, U. S. A., arrived from Fort Erie, he told us more stories than we wished to hear; commenced raining at 4 o'clock, and rained all night; read "I says, says I," "Exiles of Siberia," "Effects of Passion," &c.

28th. Heavy rain all day; spent the afternoon with Captain Dawson; party in the evening; heard many anecdotes, particularly of Mrs. Norton's affairs; creek rose very high; carried off the cotton manufactory at Adamstown.

29th. Took a long ride in the morning with Mr. Rowe, of the Navy; visited Mr. Mills, waggon maker; cricket in the afternoon;

received an answer to the letter I wrote to Major Melville on the 27th; Mr. Foster brought a report [from Pittsfield of Lord Hill having taken possession of Washington; to celebrate the event, we had a dinner party which lasted till 12 o'clock.

30th. This day we commenced whist playing, to kill time; walked out with Mr. Vinecomb to Liner's and Montgomery's quarters to breakfast; Captain Gore, who has been ill for some time, is recovering; received the handbills from the Pittsfield Sun, and extracts from the New York Commercial Advertiser, saying the British army under Lord Hill, 13000 strong, had possession of Washington City; the States people had one General killed; and a regiment annihilated; the editor says, no quarter should be given to an invading army; he does not appear to recollect their invasion of Canada, that unfortunate province, which they have never ceased to annoy since the declaration of war, although the population does not exceed half a million, whereas our army is invading a nation of ten millions, who declared war at a time when we were fighting for the liberties of the world.

31st. People all in commotion about their capital; conjectures, doubts, fears and hopes in the minds of all. I took a ride to Mr. Wells', had a long discussion on politics with the daughter, who is a real democrat and a little demon; I sympathized with her on the loss of the capital; our old routine—eating, drinking, rambling, with the addition of a horse-race, which ended the day.

Sept. 1st. The billiard table arrived this morning from Albany; yesterday I saw Mr. Baker, of Colonel Wilcox' corps, from Fort Erie; he came out to visit the place of his nativity; wrote General Berbeck respecting our baggage; cricket, and a dance in the evening among ourselves.

2d. Pleasant weather; Capt. Dawson sent a man to Pittsfield; a ride to the limits before breakfast; up late last night; Captain Elliot and Lieut. Gardner 41st regiment arrived here, they were taken prisoners on the 15th at Fort Erie, the most unfortunate business that happened us during the war.

3d. Called upon Capt Brown and reported ourselves as usual; nothing new or interesting took place this day.

4th. A serious quarrel between Kerr and Roper; Capt. Dawson removed from Hall's to Brown's; I took his room and removed to Hall's, where we had a far better table; no church.

5th. Took a long ride with Capt. Loring round the country; received an extra Gazette from the Argus, mentioning our having received 60,000 barrels of flour from Alexandria, and carrying on operations against Fort Erie with vigor. Mr. Racy arrived to pay us a visit, and slept at our quarters; Major Melville



sent Captain James for Mr. Racey at four in the afternoon; would not allow him to remain with us; he still remains an alien in the States; running horses in the afternoon, dancing and cards in the evening.

6th. Rain again; fine weather; Rerr removed to our quarters; received the Albany Gazette with General Gaines' despatch of our repulse at Fort Erie; a report is likewise in circulation of the Plattsburg army having removed to the Niagara frontier; Gen. Gaines most shamefully accuses Colonel Drummond of refusing to give quarter; I have made considerable progress in billiards.

7th. We have each subscribed two dollars, which makes our playing very cheap; we have established a small fund for amusements in different ways; Lieut Robbins continues very ill; sent to Pittsfield for Dr. Childs, who pronounced him dangerously ill.

8th. One month since I wrote from Albany; have heard nothing of my baggage or horse; waiting to see Major Melville, to make a regular application through him to General Brown. Capt. James gave us every encouragement on the 5th of a speedy exchange of prisoners; now he knows, I am not a judge; fair weather; dull times.

9th. Took a long ride, played billiards, and strolled about, read, and at last drowned my cares in the arms of Morpheus; a party kept up drinking until 2 o'clock, to the great annoyance of all the community.

10th. Attended the levee as usual, entered our names, went out fishing with Captain Elliot; had but a poor days sport; Robbins continues to be in danger; Dr. Roper not recovered from his black eye.

10th. We were all in an unusual flow of spirits in the morning; it was sadly and most effectually curbed at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, by the death of poor Robbins; proper medical aid could not be obtained for him in time; he fell, almost a victim to his own imprudence; spent the day reading.

12th. A thick foggy morning; sent my servants to bring in all the officers to attend the funeral of our friend; had a man dispatched to Major Melville, thinking he would send out a party and have him interred with the honors of war; he was not at home, therefore our request was not attended to; the minister arrived at 2 o'clock, and we buried him at 3. I was one of the pall bearers; prayers were read, and everything done for him in our power. The militia were called out for the purpose of sending a draft to Boston; an attack apprehended there; the party carousing all night.

13th. Rainy day; nothing new; quite unwell.

14th. Report of the capture of our fleet on Lake Champlain; our taking Castine, Belfast, and blowing up the John Adams frigate; repulsing them at Michillimackinac, and getting off from Alexandria without any loss; likewise an order for destroying all the seaport towns assailable, in retaliation for their wanton destruction of our villages and private property in Upper Canada; General Brisbain invading Vermont State.

15th. Received a letter from my father by Lieutenant Hall, of the United States Artillery, who had been at his house; I likewise heard of the death of Mr. Thompson; rode out to the Mint House; Capt. Popham arrived from the springs, making eight of us in the house; playing whist and chatting till 4 o'clock in the morning; rainy night.

16th. Very dull weather; wrote to my father by Lieut. Hall, who is going to Fort Erie, also to General Gaines, concerning my horse; attended the levee; a company of artillery men met at this place tolerably well appointed; Capt James came up; Major Melville has not yet made his appearance.

17th. Church on Sunday; weather cold.

18th. Three or four companies of the militia met again to-day; they made an awkward appearance; horse racing in the evening; weather cold; received a confirmation of the loss of our fleet on Lake Champlain, our retreat from Baltimore and Plattsburgh; the latter force said to consist of 14000 men under General Prevost; Major Melville came out; received my valise of clothes and twenty-five dollars from him; most of the officers drew up a petition, sent it to Colonel Barclay, British agent, for leave to return on parole; Major Melville promised to write about the application made to him; I wrote to Strange; rain again; Major Melville returned to Pittsfield; very anxious, expecting a letter from Albany; weather fine. Wrote to Strange and Dudley Welch & Co. by young Brown, who proceeded direct for Albany; finished reading since my last, "Ossian's Poems," "Slave of Passion," "Discarded Son, a tale from Wester," "Exiles of Siberia," "Wild Irish Boy," "Camille," "Young Mother," and "I says, says I;" it is well I have committed their titles to paper, as I will thus remember having read them, although I cannot mention a sentence in either, except the story of Cordelia, in the "Discarded Son," which particularly struck my fancy; spent the afternoon with Captains Popham and Dawson; this is the sixth week I have passed in Cheshire; fair weather, cool; attended the levee as usual, being the sixth time.

23d. Wet, cold, rainy weather; went to church; Elders Lenlan and Roach held forth to a very large congregation; a number



of beautiful girls there; this day two months I had the misfortune to be made prisoner; received a letter from Albany; very much disappointed at not having heard from R—, two months, nearly, expiring since I first wrote; the navy officers arrived, who were taken on Lake Champlain; they attribute their failure to the ill conduct of the men in the ship, who deserted the guns and would not fight; it is the first instance I ever heard of British sailors failing in courage; Mars of late has deserted; our arms, we appear to be unsuccessful both by sea and land; cold, raw, and unpleasant weather, it has been very changeable since our arrival, one day we have to keep fires, the next is very warm, most of the time rain. The number of officers of all descriptions who have arrived here since I came is twenty-two; General Riall and Captain Wilson have arrived at Pittsfield.

27th. Rode out and examined the glass works of Messrs. Hall & Co.; a Scotchman by the name of Richmond has the management; the maintenance of the establishment is attended with a very great expense; the clay for building and the tubs to melt the composition in are brought from the Delaware River, it being the only place in the country where it can be procured: the fire stones come from New York, the blowers were all from Scotland, brought out by Richmond; they are now working at the stone cutting; they consumes fifteen cords of wood per day; expense of building seventy thousand dollars.

28th. This day two months I wrote from Buffalo; commenced on a new source of amusement, running, jumping, &c.; weather fine; won a bet of McClean, who was to take up a hundred stones at one yard apart one by one, in fifty minutes. I took a long ride; Captain Loring went to Pittsfield; this is the seventh week I have passed in Cheshire; lost a bet on myself running against Lamont; all manner of exercise, leaping, foot-ball, &c. at Brown's, father of Mrs. Rowe; attended the levee as usual; received a letter from Major Melville enclosing three other, which gave infinite satisfaction, although I have no hopes of our exchange; Major Melville's conduct is gentlemanly in the extreme.

October 1st. General Riall and Captain Wilson paid us a visit; no hopes of an exchange of prisoners; General Riall was of opinion we should be sent to England, as we were sending their officers there from the seaboard; no answer to our application for leave to return on parole.

2d. Employed part of this day in writing; did not attend divine service as usual, rather a dull day; rode out in the afternoon; Capt. Popham left me his horse to ride whenever I thought proper.



3d. Spent the day in reading, writing, and riding; foot-ball was introduced this evening for the first time, very severe exercise; sent my letter to Major Melville to forward. Spent the day as usual; violent heat at foot-ball in the evening. Yesterday Nellis drew a bill on Montreal; borrowed seventy-five dollars of him, less twenty, which I had given him in a gold eagle; in the evening we played at speculation, I was very fortunate; entertained by the militia firing muskets till 2 o'clock, as they were passing to a general review at Windsor, we, in retaliation, sang "God save the King," "Rule Britannia," and all the patriotic songs we could think of; disturbed our comrades at Walcot's, for which they were about petitioning for our removal, a measure earnestly desired by all of us. Remarkably fine weather which we have enjoyed for some days past.

Took a long ride; the post brought the pleasant information of General Drummond's remaining at Chippewa. We had before heard that he had retreated to Fort George; in that case the whole of the frontier would have been exposed to an invading army, and every house within their reach would doubtless have been plundered. I was under apprehension for my dear mother and sisters, as they, in common with the rest, would have been totally unprotected, for every man would have followed with the army. I trust and pray that the troubles in our unfortunate country will soon be at an end. We hear that Sir George Prevost is at Kingston with the major part of the army; our new ship is completed and out, which gives us the command of the lake; we may shortly look out for a decisive blow on some part of the frontier.

6th. Rain last night, cold during the day; the greater part of the inhabitants going to Pittsfield Fair, which is to last three days; nothing new from the Pittsfield papers; received one we subscribed for, we also sent for the Albany Gazette, Georgetown Federal Republican, New York Examiner, and Boston Gazette; many other papers were taken by the other officers, so that we have a complete reading room on post days, which are Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

7th. Cold disagreeable weather, reports in circulation of Sir George Prevost making a descent near Sacketts Harbor; a couple of gentlemen were sent to see the prisoners, from Albany; attended the levee as usual, the eighth time since my arrival at Cheshire; in the evening the greater part of our gentlemen were whole seas-over, it being the end of the quarter established by Mr. Hall.

8th. Church in the morning, the Elder's sermon not very edifying; a large concourse of people, many beautiful girls.

9th. Long walk in the evening; cold; this day a year ago we retreated from the Cross Roads. Fair weather; Lieut. Robinson and another naval officer arrived from Montreal; had been paroled to return in time from Plattsburg; they brought out very disastrous tidings, mentioned that Sir George Prevost had sent his army into winter quarters, instead of being at Sacketts Harbor as reported. The prisoners we were taken in the last sortie at Fort Erie, were paroled at Stockbridge, (a very fine village on the opposite side of Pittsfield) except Major Valette, who was allowed to remain at Lansingburgh. Major Burke, Thompson, and Keane, King's regiment, had permission to go back to Stockbridge, as some of their officers were there, they left at 10 o'clock; I accompanied Major Burke to the limits, parted from him with regret, as he was a very gentlemanly and good man—he lodged in the same room with me, so I became much attached to him; wrote Mathewson of the King's, desiring him to inform me if he knew or had heard anything about my family since my leaving the lines; nothing new; received the New York Examiner and Albany Gazette; dined with Lander, Gardner, and Thrower.

This is the second month I have passed in the village, during which period I have not exceeded the limits prescribed in my parole in the minutest article. Humphreys, the shoemaker, arrived from Albany; very happy to find there is a strong prospect of peace. Lord Hill's expedition to America detained in consequence of the dispatches sent to the British Government by the Plenipotentiaries.

Fine weather; Humphrey's, the bootmaker made his appearance again; nothing new or interesting; moping over Blackstone's commentaries two-thirds of my time; finished Homer's Iliad.

14th. The ninth levee over; a continuation of good weather; kite flying all the rage at present; most of our other games nearly fallen through; sent some time ago for Paul Clement, heard nothing yet; gave John Gould ten dollars when in Buffalo.

15th. Cold unpleasant day; let Warren have twelve dollars, which he is to repay in Canada. Visited Spilsberry and Humphreys; wrote Mahon, enclosed four dollars for cigars; no news; cold and raw weather. Rode out with Loring; passed the remainder of the day writing and reading; getting quite tired of Cheshire and its beautiful scenery. Received the paper, which confuted all the idle rumors we had heard of peace; am sorry to find there is not the most distant prospect of it; neither side appear inclined to make overtures; the war will be carried on with increased vigor. Heard there was a letter in the post office for me, at Ghent; cold, and nothing new. Wrote Major Melville

asking him to be kind enough to forward my letter; attended the tenth levee.

General Riall and Mr. Moore, formerly agent for prisoners, paid us a visit. Captain Dawson was attacked and made prisoner by the Sheriff for forcing a driver of a waggon to convey Lieut. Murray of the 100th regiment to his quarters; Dawson refused to give bail or pay the damages; the gentleman therefore left him; went to church, the minister did not attend, an oration was delivered by an old man of 72 years of age; cool but pleasant weather; rode into the country; an affray took place between Lieut. Hicks, of the Royal Navy, and a citizen; Hicks giving him a good thrashing for kicking his dog. Hicks was arrested early this morning, taken before two justices of the peace, and bound over to appear at the assizes, refusing to give bail, he was sent to the Lenox jail.

Three months have passed away since I was made prisoner, and no prospect whatever of an exchange; wrote Douglas of New York by Major Leland of this place. Took a long walk round the square—we exercise, daily, as much as we can bear with ease—rose in the morning between 8 and 9 o'clock, read till breakfast, played a rubber of billiards, wrote until 12 o'clock, read till 2 o'clock, walked about until 4 o'clock, dined at 4, sat an hour, strolled about until 7 o'clock, in the evening played whist, read until 11 o'clock, got to bed at 12; all getting more temperate; this is the employment of the day, over and over, again and again; if it were not for books, we should die of spleen. Yesterday Major Melville sent Captain James out to enquire into the case of Hicks.

Having finished my minutes from memory of the events in Upper Canada since the war commenced, I will now give a description of the officers, naval and military, detained in Cheshire, as prisoners of war.

The first batch of officers, prisoners at Cheshire, about 40 miles east of Albany: Captains Popham and Spilsbury, Lieuts. Rowe, Loveday and Brown, Midshipmans Logie and Padmore, all of the navy; were taken prisoners on the 31st of May, at Sandy Creek, between Oswego and Sacketts Harbor. Capt. Popham had been sent to intercept the guns for the United States ship building at Sacketts Harbor, having received intelligence that they were on the way from Oswego to Sacketts Harbor. Capt. Spilsbury was out cruising at the same time; both of them met at the mouth of Sandy Creek, where the States boats had run up for shelter. Popham took Spilsbury with him, which made their force a very respectable one, as they had all the boats of the



fleet, two gun doats, and a 68 pounder in one; they pursued the enemy nearly two miles up the creek, which was very narrow; the States troops surrounded them with riflemen and indians, capturing the whole party, after a most gallant resistance. The two marine officers were mortally wounded, one midshipman killed, and nearly one-third of the whole crew. Capt. Popham is a steady, brave, and I think, a good man, and is very much chagrined at being captured, as the whole responsibility rested on him; he was blamed for following them up so narrow a creek. The object certainly justified the attempt, as all, or most of the enemy's guns were there for the new ship; had he not gone, he would have been censured for not attempting the enterprise. What he did, he did for the best. The Wolf was slightly damaged at Oswego.

Captain Spilsbury commanded the Royal George, and was sent with some boats to watch the harbor; hearing of the convoy as he was rowing up to meet them, he fell in with Captain Popham, who took him under his care; he was likewise fearful of censure for quitting his cruising ground. Spilsbury was made Master and Commander since he came out to the lakes; he was one of Sir James Yeo's chosen officers, and came out with him; he is a brave, determined fellow, and was among the last that surrendered at Sandy Creek. He is nic-named the Tin Pot man, for being close; though I think much to his credit, as he had an aged mother and one or two children entirely dependent on him for support, for which he has contributed part of his pay, ever since he has been in the navy. He is a blunt, good natured sailor, full of life and action, and can endure any hardship.

Lieut. Majoribanks was confined, or rather I heard of it a few days after his capture. He was a particular favorite with Sir James Yeo; a hardy, enterprising, and brave Scotchman; he was with Sir James at Murves—one of his choice 500. He is open, liberal, humorous.

Acting Lieutenants Rowe, Brown and Loveday; Rowe almost made his escape near Sandy Creek; he had all his boat's crew killed or wounded, and himself on the point of losing his scalp, an Indian had hold of his hair. when an officer saved him. He is a small, good looking young man, quick tempered, high spirited, very liberal and good hearted.

Brown is a perfect seaman, having been in the navy 12 or 14 years; a brave, wild, wicked fellow, the first in all mischief, never thinks of the consequences till it's over, fond of carousing. Notwithstanding which, he has many good qualities—openhearted, liberal, a warm friend, and fit for any enterprise whatever,

as a seaman. A young man, well made, with red hair, full of anecdote. Both live at this house. Rowe keeps good hours, in bed at 9 o'clock. Brown generally in bed by 12 o'clock.

Loveday is an Englishman, sallow complexion, not a favorite with the officers, owing to his having a more distant way than the others.

Logie and Padmore, Midshipmen. Logie is a Guernsey man, and has been a long while at it, (wounded twice) having no interest, no promotion; has a dark complexion, small man, about 30 years of age, inoffensive, a good kind of a man.

Padmore is a New Providence, West Indian; an intelligent, tall, good looking young man, temperate and prudent; lives in same house with me.

Yesterday wrote my father, via Buffalo; to Platt, Montreal, and Walsh, Albany, by Mr. James Sparrow, who has taken our bill, and is in the habit of dealing in Montreal. No news, except our capturing two schooners of the enemy on lake Huron; attended the eleventh levee. Major Melville came out and paid us our monthly subsistence. Mr. Sparrow did not deliver the letters to Major Melville, consequently the one to father will miscarry; received an answer from R. of a prior date to the last; wrote an answer and sent it by the post.

28th. Fair weather. Wrote two letters to my father, one by Buffalo, the other by Montreal; a flag of truce goes to the Lower Province in a day or two. Took a solitary walk, and turned in.

The next party that came prisoners, were Captain Dawson, Major Burke, 8th Kings, Lieuts. Humphreys and Maxwell, Ensign Campbell, and Lieut. Vinccomb, R. N., all taken on the 3d of July in Fort Erie, by General Brown. The States troops landed in the evening of the 2d of July, in two divisions, one at Black Rock, the other at Snake Hill, and immediately surrounded the fort. A few shots were fired on the morning of the 3d at the fort. The Major, knowing that it was not tenable, called a council, or rather, got the opinion of most of the officers, and surrendered from motives of humanity; to hold out would have been a useless sacrifice of men's lives. Notwithstanding, many of them refused, and called out to defend it to the last extremity.

Major Burke is a mild, honorable, and pleasant man, rather small, but good looking, of a good family—he has gone to Stockbridge. Captain Dawson is a most good natured and pleasant fellow, fond of a good hoax, and a married man. Humphreys is very handsome, and a perfect ladies' man. Maxwell is quite the reverse; a stout and most determined man, all Irish, and was opposed to the surrendering of Fort Erie till the last; pos-

possessing every necessary qualification, he is as well fitted for a soldier's life as is possible for a man to be. Campbell is a perfect beauty, small and young. Vinecomb is a very fine steady young man, employs his time in reading, writing, &c., and makes the most of it; very temperate; in short, he possesses every good quality. D. Roper, mate, is now in coventry with the officers; all being displeased with him—he is an unfortunate young man, for which I am sorry to say he has himself alone to blame.

The next that were taken were Mr. Alex. Merchant, Birch, Brooks, Hardiman, Ploie, Bowinan and son—inhabitants and militia officers of Upper Canada, who, having families, and relying on the faith of General Brown's proclamation, remained at home, and were taken away from their houses, a proceeding without a precedent before the States people adopted the measure, which they will yet have cause to regret. They are all good inhabitants; the latter was wounded in the action of the 5th of July, at Chippewa. Mr. Merchant was taken with his father.

31st. Halloween. The servants all had a drunken frolic. Dined with Captain Popham. Established a band under the patronage of Jimmy Brown; himself and Thompson, violins. Elliot and Warren; flutes, Loring, Kerr, Brown, Lyser and Merritt, bazoons on the back of combs, Padmore, French Horn, Grant, whistle on the back of a knife, Vinecomb, bass drum; the medley all chiming in at the proper time, makes a tolerable performance. We have a regular concert every Saturday night winding up with a ball; admittance 25 cents; Spilsbury and Humphreys take the part of ladies.

November 1st. The next party taken were Capt. Thompson, Lieut. Riley, Ensigns Simmonds, McCasley, Warren, Thompson, all our Queenston breakfast party were taken prisoners—on the 24th of July, on our returning from Saint Davids to the 10 Mile Creek, they remained at Collard's to get some refreshment, not dreaming of the enemy, when they were surprised by Col. Wilcox, with a party of 300 or 400 men. Captains Thompson and Simmonds, and Riley ran up stairs, and fired out of the window; the enemy rushed into the house, and made all below prisoners; the party above refused to surrender till they were promised quarter, which was granted. They killed a dragoon and wounded some horses. They were treated in a most barbarous manner, when the enemy got them in their possession. Captain Grant was taken by the same party, at the same time. No post; the first time it has been missing since my arrival. Fair weather. Famous horse racing, the favorite, Gypsy, (as usual) beats them all very easily.



I shall here say something about the gentlemen last mentioned. Captain Thompson is a native of New Brunswick, a man of most exemplary morals, a mild, good temper, and possessed of more fortitude than generally falls to the lot of mankind; is a true and affectionate husband; in short, I think he has not a bad quality about him; there are three brothers in the family, the youngest was wounded a day or two before he was taken; the other is with him. A few days since they hard of the death of their father, which leaves the family helpless. Ensign Thompson is a brother; a good natured and most determined fellow, and has been in almost every skirmish on the frontier. Simmonds is an active young man. Riley a steady, good man. McCasley is an elderly plain man, more fitted for his farm than for the army. Young Warren is an active, jovial, handsome young man.

Captains Bird and Wilson, of the Royals, were severely wounded and taken on the same day; both remained at Pittsfield. Captain William Kerr, of the Indian department, who remains in the same house with me, is a very fine young man, tall and handsome, and has been very active since the war commenced.

The next list of unfortunates, were those taken in the action of the 25th of July, at Lundy's Lane, namely: General Riall, of the 104th; Captain Loring, Aid-de-Camp to General Drummond; Capts. Brown, 103d; Gore, 89th; McLean, I. M.; Washbourne, Militia; Nellis, Lincoln: Lieuts. Yule, R. E.; Frazer, 103d; Scott, 103d; Liner, 103d; Kilbourne, 103d; Kean, 8th; Cline, 103d; Lamont, 8th; Montgomery, 103d; Waiffe, 103d; Q. M. Thrower, 41st; Ensign Robbins, Glengarys; making in all a score with myself, besides Q. M. Bell of the militia, who in attempting his escape, was wounded and left behind.

General Riall is an Irishman, very brave, near sighted, rather short, but stout. Is thought by some rather rash, which, by the by, is a good fault in a General officer. Loring is clever in the cabinet, cool and determined in the field. Brown, a stout Irishman, steady, with plenty of brogue, is a good tempered, jovial fellow. Gore, a very gentlemanly, active, and handsome man. Merritt, in bad spirits. McLean, a hasty but good young man. Washbourne, married a few days before he was taken, is dying for his wife; Nellis also. It is certainly much to their credit and honor that they left their young wives, and entered the lists of combattants so soon after marriage. Yule is a studious young man. Cline, an elderly man, and one of Bacchus' disciples. Frazer, a steady, brave Highlander. Lamont, a good looking young man, vain and consequential. Montgomery, as brave and fine a little fellow as can be. Liner, a fine young man. Waiffe,

rather mild. Kilbourne is elderly, fond of looking in the glass, and admiring himself. Thrower, a passionate gentleman. Kearn, a good tempered, elderly man. Poor Robbins was a brave, jovial and wild fellow, which occasioned his death. Old Commodore—Capt. Lander, a very good, jovial man; was taken in the summer, in a gun boat, below Kingston; he has been used uncommonly ill by the States people.

3d. A fall of snow in the morning; a fair turnout of sleighs; papers arrived here conveying intelligence of the States army retiring to Fort Erie, which is truly pleasing news. The campaign has ended as usual, unfavorably to the United States arms; as they are not in possession of a foot of land in Canada. A fine day. Heard of Major Melville's going to the lines; supposed to be in order to effect an exchange of prisoners. The rehearsal this evening was prevented by Brown, the sailor, setting off a stink pot in the room.

This day a most vigorous effort was made to make up a dance in the evening, which, after many confabs with the fair, was effected. It began with a concert, dancing was kept up till 12 o'clock, we then set off the fire works in commemoration of the day, (Guy Fawkes.) Our party not so large as we expected, owing to the bad state of the weather. However, it passed off very well—about ten or twelve ladies; and as the spell was broken, they finding nothing dangerous in British officers, promised to attend in future. Balls are therefore proposed to be given every fortnight.

Maxwell received a dangerous wound in leaping a few days ago; he is somewhat better. Attended the 12th levee; wrote and obtained permission for Goold, Woodruff, and some others of the militia to come out and work at this place on parole. Major Melville has not gone to the lines as above reported; rode out in the morning; dined with Popham.

Dull wet day. A town meeting was held at this place for the purpose of electing a Representative for the county of Berkshire, of which this is a part.

0th. Wet rainy weather. Wrote Major Melville, enclosing a letter for M. Walton and Mrs. P., of Litchfield. Fine weather; no news; Major Valette arrived from Albany and Lansingburgh.

The next action after the 25th, was the sortie from Fort Erie, which had a most tragical termination. Our loss was very severe. Captains Elliot and Cokeley, 103d, formerly of the Q. M. Generals department, (the latter badly wounded) were taken prisoners that day; Lieut. Murray, 100th, wounded; Lieut. Gardner, 45th, wounded; Midshipman Hyde, leg broken. Elliott is a most daring, enterprising, and active officer. Cokeley I have not seen;

being dangerously wounded, he remained with his friend Butler at Lansingburg. Murray is an active young man. Lieut. Camp was badly wounded in the assault. Gardner, a tall young man. Hyde, a very good lad, rather hasty.

Mr. Butler, an alien, arrived from Lansingburg with Major Valetté, who had permission to remain there some time—went to Stockbridge. Young Thompson arrived. Remarkably fine weather; dined with Loring; horse racing in the morning. Our wine arrived from New York. My letter to Douglas was returned, he could not be found. Mrs. Dawson arrived from Montreal.

The fourth of a year passed in Cheshire, and no prospect of an exchange. The 13th report to Capt. Brown. In the evening at the race. "Gipsy" was beaten by Richmond's horse, which was a very great annoyance to the party.

Sunday; Elder Salan delivered a very good sermon; wet day. The Upper House passed a resolution some time ago to wear moustaches or pay a fine, which was done this day, each person cutting his off and paying the forfeit. I applied to Major Melville some time since to allow the militia prisoners to work out; part came last week, the remainder, making twenty, yesterday, all being penniless, and almost naked, not having received either money or clothing since their capture. Fine healthy weather—rather wet. No news from any part of the globe. Received an answer to the letter I wrote Mr. Walton, giving me leave to draw on him for money, in a way I thought rather indifferent—therefore declined accepting it—wrote an answer.

General Riall came out and gave the officers a last adieu; he is paroled, with Captain Wilson, to England; his stay was so short, I had not an opportunity of seeing him; wrote him a line enclosing some certificates for his signature; he signed them, and sent me a very polite answer. In the evening had a famous or infamous carrousal till 2 or three o'clock. No news by the post.

In the evening we had a grand ball, sixteen or eighteen ladies being present; it passed off very agreeably. They are now to be established every fortnight. The Pittsfield ladies were prevented from coming, owing to the bad weather.

18th. A very wet, disagreeable day. In the evening the inhabitants of Cheshire had a ball in opposition to ours, and invited one of our officers, and requested him not to dance, which gave offence to part of the ladies, who with him left the room. A determined opposition has arisen between the inhabitants and ourselves. Fortunatnly, we have secured a strong party among



the ladies, which enables us to put them at defiance. The greatest exertions are being made for our next ball on St. Andrew's day. Every one has his part in decorating the ball room, which is to be fitted out in the most splendid manner.

19th. Made the 14th report; disagreeable weather, heavy snow; spent the evening at Lower House.

Rode out to Captain Popham's; spent a most agreeable evening with the ladies at Captain Brown's—among whom was a Miss Allen, a very fine girl, from Pittsford. She remained some time at this place. Captain Brown returned from Lansingburgh well pleased with the route. Spent the evening at Richmond's. The inhabitants in a fair way of being reconciled to the officers. Had a bout in the evening—broke up at 2 in the morning.

December 12. The Journal ends here, but letters from Cheshire continue the subject. The application I mentioned has not been attended to, consequently, the hopes of seeing you in Chataque have vanished. When we return the route will be by Montreal, that is decided, I fear it will not be this winter.

The prisoners all got their freedom by the closing of the war. Mr. Merritt reached home about the end of March, 1815.









